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SEPTEMBER, 1854.

Historical Sketches.

THE CHURCH OF OUR FATHERS.

[Continued from page 216.]

We have already given an account of the causes which led to the subversion of the Culdees, and the establishment of Romanism in the British Isles. We referred particularly to the *violent measures* employed by Augustine and his adherents, and in general by all who embraced the persecuting creed of the Roman Antichrist. We noticed the *artful* policy by which many were seduced from the truth, and led to embrace the erroneous tenets of the great apostacy. The *monastic institution* was then considered as one of the great causes of the corruption of the true religion and the establishment of the impure system which was embodied in the Papacy; and the nature of monachism was examined, and it was shown to be contrary to the law of nature, to divine revelation, and the welfare of society. The claims made on behalf of monachism, as the means by which religion and learning were preserved, the poor relieved, and the oppressed protected and defended, were examined, and found to be incorrect; and the development of the Man of Sin, and the barbarism, the ignorance, the rapacity, the tyranny of the dark ages, were traced to its influence. It was shown to be the great fountain of pollution which made mystical Babylon "the habitation of devils, the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird." Rev. xviii. 2.

We now design, after referring to one other cause which tended to the subversion of the Culdees, to give a brief sketch of their history, showing the efforts made from time to time to arrest the progress of Romanism, and the advance which it made until it reigned triumphant on its throne of darkness.

4. The invasions of the Danes or Northmen, forms the fourth cause which led to the overthrow of the Culdee church. The barbarous tribes of the northern regions of Europe, a country called by the ancients by the general name of Scandinavia, issued from their wild and rugged fastnesses, and poured down upon the inhabitants of the British islands and the adjacent continent. In France they received the name of *Northmen*; in England they were called Danes. (Mackintosh's England, i. 40.) They were brave and bloodthirsty, and ravaged with horrid cruelty the lands which they invaded. From them the Saxons received a providential retribution for their treatment of

the Britons. During two centuries, (840—1040,) they continued to ravage Britain, and during a part of that time held possession of the throne; and at last, in the triumph of William the Conqueror, Oct. 14, 1066, completely overthrew the Anglo-Saxon dynasty, and established the race of monarchs to which the present sovereign of the British empire traces her pedigree. Scotland and Ireland were ravaged at various times; and these adventurous navigators even crossed the Atlantic, and discovered America about five hundred years before Columbus landed upon our western world. (Wheaton's History of Northmen, p. 20.) It is said an Irish or Saxon priest named Ion, or John, who had preached for some time as a missionary in Iceland, an island also discovered and settled by the Northmen, went to Vinland, one of their colonies, probably on the New England coast, in the year 1059, to preach Christianity to the heathen natives, by whom he was murdered. (Ib., p. 30.) It is not improbable that this Irish priest may have been a Culdee: and if so, it is an interesting reflection that the gospel was first proclaimed in the western hemisphere by one of this ancient and faithful, though persecuted and now extinguished church. To us it adds peculiar interest in the consideration of their history.

The Northmen were originally idolaters; and, like the Saxons, worshipped Odin, the god of war. (Ib., p. 174.) In the time of Charlemagne efforts were made to induce the Saxons to embrace Christianity; and multitudes were compelled to renounce heathenism, and profess faith in JESUS CHRIST. The Northmen, who were in alliance with the continental Saxons, were thus made acquainted with the Christian religion; but it was not propagated amongst them until the reign of Louis le Debonnaire, the son and successor of Charlemagne. At this time multitudes of the Northmen were induced, by various means, to receive the Christian name. As an instance of the nature of the conversions of the heathen, of which Popery has boasted so much, we may relate the following anecdote. On one occasion so many Normans presented themselves to be baptized that there was not time to prepare a sufficient number of white robes, such as were worn by the neophytes. They were consequently obliged to use such coarse garments as could be found on the emergency. A Norman chieftain, who presented himself to receive the holy rite, exclaimed as they offered him such a dress—"This is the twentieth time I have been baptized, and I have always received a fine white robe: such a sack is more fit for a base hind, than for a warrior like me; and were I not ashamed of my nakedness, I would cast it at your feet, and at the feet of your CHRIST." Indeed, a conversion to Christianity, according to the notions of that age, often implied merely the acknowledgment of CHRIST as a GOD, in common with Thor and Wodin, and other idols, who were still revered. Hence many who professed Christianity when among Christians, did not scruple to worship the idols of their ancestors when they returned to their native land.

From whatever sources, and to whatever degree the Normans had embraced Christianity, it is evident that they became Romanists, and partook in the hostility which Rome encouraged towards the Culdees. (Ledwich, p. 94.) Hence, in their invasions of Scotland and Ireland, they massacred the Culdee monks, and destroyed their churches and monasteries. When they obtained a permanent settlement in Ireland

they refused to allow their bishops to be ordained by the Irish clergy, but sent them to Canterbury, in England, to receive ordination from the Romish prelate; which Ledwich supposes led eventually to the subjection of the Irish people to the authority of Rome and the sceptre of the English kings.

Iona, the sacred isle where Columbas had founded his celebrated institute, was frequently ravaged by the Danes. In one of these attacks sixty-eight members of the community were killed. The poet Campbell, in one of his minor compositions, gives a graphic sketch of the invasions of the Danes:—

“The watch-fires burst across the main,
From Rona, and Uist, and sky,
To tell that the ships of the Dane,
And the red-haired slayers were nigh.

“Our islemen arose from slumbers,
And buckled on their arms;
But few, alas! were their numbers,
To Lochlin’s mailed swarms.
And the blade of the bloody Norse
Has filled the shores of the Gael
With many a floating corse,
And with many a woman’s wail.
They have lighted the islands with ruin’s torch,
And the holy man of Iona’s church,
In the temple of God lay slain.”

It is probable that it was the desolation which the ravages of the Danes caused in Ireland, which led so many to remove from their native land, and settle on the Continent. (Codex. Sangall., p. 45.) The strength of the Culdee church was thus removed, and it fell before the barbarous Danes. The lamp of learning was extinguished, and Ireland, which was formerly the island of the holy and the learned, sunk into the ignorance and irreligion which has rested upon her to the present day.

By the operation of the causes we have mentioned, the Culdee church was gradually subverted, until at length it entirely disappeared. But yet it was not destroyed without a struggle; and many a noble column long remained to bear witness to the glory and grandeur of the fabric, after the greater part of the structure had been overthrown. Even in the darkening of the night, some rays of sunset still lingered in the horizon; and even when midnight gloom had enveloped the firmament, some bright stars still shone out, to guide the wanderer, and cheer the desponding saint.

At Iona, the apostacy of Adamnan, to which we have already referred, failed to induce many to secede to Rome, although in the southern part of Ireland he was more successful. (Iona, p. 47.) But his death, in 704, prevented him from effecting much injury. About twelve years afterwards, however, (716,) the Pictish king, Nectan, who was under the influence of the Romish priests, required entire conformity to the papal system; and finding a number of the Culdees refractory, he sent them into banishment, (718,) and thus established Romanism in undisputed sway. (Iona, p. 143.)

“In this year, 718,” says Dr. Alexander, “the triumph of Rome was consummated in Iona, by the community submitting to receive

the coronal tonsure, which thus became the badge and signal of their apostacy from their opinions, and their relinquishing the independence so fondly claimed by their ancient church." Still, however, it appears there were some who cherished their former faith; and so late even as 1203, one person, named Ceallach, was bold enough to erect a monastery in Iona, in opposition to the learned of that place. But his attempt was denounced, and his monastery destroyed. (Iona, p. 154.)

In England, the Culdees were compelled to withdraw about the year 970. (Giessler, ii. 165.) At this time, a conference was held at Whitby, in Yorkshire, between Colman, the Culdee Bishop of Lindisfarne, and Wilfrid, a Romanist Abbot. (Bede, iii. 25, 234.) The subject of controversy was the observance of Easter; and Colman, in defence of the Culdee custom, appealed to the authority of the elders or presbyters who had sent him to England, and the example of their ancestors—declaring also, that it was the same as that of the apostle John. Wilfrid, in reply, affirmed that at Rome, and in all other parts of the world, Easter was observed on a day different from that which the Culdees kept sacred; and in regard to the example of John, which he appears not to have disputed, he asserted that the evangelist wished simply to accommodate the prejudices of the Jews, but Peter established the proper day as a Christian institution. After some further discussion, Colman referred particularly to the example of Columba; to which Wilfrid replied, that however eminent that great man might have been, he could not be considered equal to Peter, the chief of the apostles, to whom the Lord said, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and to thee I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven." On this the king asked Colman if he believed the Lord really said this to Peter; to which the Culdee replied that he did. "And can you claim as much authority for your Columba?" he demanded. To which the honest Culdee answered that he could not. "Then," said the king, "seeing both agree that Peter has the keys of the kingdom of heaven, I will obey him who can let me in when I go there; but if I do not, there may be no one to admit me, when he will not do it." All around applauding this sage conclusion, the king declared his adherence to Rome; and the Culdees were obliged to retire, and shortly after to return home to Iona—and the papal system was triumphant in England.

The Roman system was also strenuously opposed by two eminent Culdees, named Samson and Clement. (Iona, p. 119.) While Boniface, a Roman monk of Devonshire, was zealously advocating the papal system in the northern parts of Europe, these Culdee preachers came out in opposition to him, and maintained that he aimed rather to win man to the authority of the Pope, than to the obedience of Christ; that he represented the Pope as possessing sovereign jurisdiction, as if the only successor of the apostles—whereas all bishops were equally their successors—that he endeavoured to abolish marriage among the clergy, and establish a life of celibacy; that he caused masses to be said for the dead, erected images in the churches, and introduced many rites unknown in more ancient times. These perversions and corruptions were zealously opposed by the Culdee ministers; but Rome laid her iron hand upon them, and they fell martyrs to the cause of Gospel truth.—[*To be continued.*]

Anti-Slavery.

THE UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF SLAVERY.

As Christians and statesmen throughout the land are directing their attention to the bearings of the constitution upon the question of chattel slavery, we have concluded to lay before our readers a portion of a speech delivered by Gerrit Smith, in Congress, April 6, 1854, in which the unconstitutionality of this unholy relation is discussed at great length. We are not prepared to say that all the positions taken by the author, on this subject, are correct, or that every argument urged by him is valid, yet we are free to say that there are two sides to this question, and that weighty considerations may be urged in the vindication of the constitution as an Anti-slavery document.—Ed.

Mansfield's decision in the Somerset case established the fact that there was no law for slavery in England, in 1772; and if none in England, then none in America. For, by the terms of their charters the colonies could have no laws repugnant to the laws of England. Alas! that this decision was not followed up by the assertion of the right of every American slave to liberty! Had it been, then would our land this day be bright and blessed with liberty, instead of dark and cursed with slavery. Alas, that the earlier decision than Mansfield's was not thus followed up! This earlier decision was of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and was of the same character of Mansfield's, (*James vs. Lachmeve, Washburn, 202.*) We are not at liberty to regard this decision of the Court of Massachusetts as wrong, because Massachusetts slavery was not abolished in consequence of it. It is no more wrong because of that fact, than Mansfield's, because of a like fact. Slavery in England survived Mansfield's decision. Even seven years after it, advertisements such as this could be found in English newspapers:

"To be sold by auction at George Dunbar's office, on Thursday next, the 20th instant, at one o'clock, a black boy, about fourteen years of age, &c. Liverpool, Oct. 16, 1779."

There was no law for American slavery after the Declaration of Independence was adopted. Had there been any before, this paper swept it all away. Chief Justice Shaw suggests that it was this paper which abolished slavery in Massachusetts, (*Commonwealth vs. Thomas Aves.*) No less fatal was it, however, to the legality of slavery in other parts of the nation. The Declaration of Independence is the highest human authority in American politics. It is customary to trace back the origin of our national existence, and our American Union to the Federal Constitution, or to the Articles of Confederation. But our national existence and our American Union had their birth in the Declaration of Independence. The putting forth of this paper was the first sovereign act of the American people—their first national and authoritative utterance. The Declaration of Independence was the declaration of the fact of the American Union; and to that paper pre-eminently are we to look for the causes and character and objects of the American Union. It was for a present and not for a prospective Union—for a Union already decided on, and not a contingent Union—that our Fathers went through a seven years' war. It is note-worthy that the object of the Constitution, as set forth by itself, is not to originate a Union, but "to form a more perfect Union"—that is, to improve on an already existing Union. The Articles of Confederation and the Federal Constitution were but expedients for promoting the perpetuity and multiplying and securing the happy fruits of this Union. Not only is it not true that the Articles of Confederation and the Federal Constitution are paramount to the Declaration of Independence, but it is true that the Congress of the Confederation and the Convention which framed the Constitution, derived all their legitimacy and authority from the Declaration of Independence. You might as well talk of supplanting the Bible with the farthing Tract written to expound it, as talk of supplanting the Declaration of Independence with any subsequent paper. Truly did one eminent statesman, Gen. Root, of my State, say: "That the Declaration of Independence is the fundamental law of the land in all those States which claimed or admitted that that instrument was framed by their agents;" and truly did another of them, John C. Spencer, say, that it "is the corner stone of our Confederacy, and is above all Constitutions and all laws." Yes, the Declaration of Independence is the very soul of every legitimate American Constitution—the Constitution of Constitutions—the Law of Laws.

I repeat it—if there was legal slavery in this land before the Declaration of Independence was adopted, there, nevertheless, could be none after. Now, the great truth of this paper is, that all men are created equal and have inalienable rights. Does this paper speak of Civil Government as necessary? It does so, because this great truth makes it necessary. It does so, because it is necessary to preserve these rights. Does this

paper claim the right to alter or abolish the government? It claims it for the sake of this great truth. It claims it in order to provide better security for these rights.

I do not forget that the Declaration of Independence has fallen into disrepute among the degenerate sons of the men who adopted it. They ridicule it and call it "a fanfaronade of nonsense." It will be ridiculed in proportion as American slavery increases. It will be respected in proportion as American slavery declines. Even members of Congress charge it with saying that men are born with equal strength, equal beauty, and equal brains. For my own part, I can impute no such folly to Thomas Jefferson and his fellow labourers. I understand the Declaration of Independence to say, that men are born with an equal right to use what is respectively theirs. To illustrate its meaning at this point: If I am born with but one foot, and one eye, and an organization capable of receiving but one idea, I have a right to use my one foot, and one eye, and one idea, equal with the right of my neighbour to use his two feet, his two eyes, and his two thousand ideas.

The enunciation of this great centre truth of the Declaration of Independence, would have justified every American slave, at the time of that enunciation, in claiming his liberty. Suppose that, after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, an American patriot had been seized by a British force, and put on trial for rebellion against the King, would not that paper have justified him in calling on his countrymen to deliver him? Certainly; for that paper asserts the right to break away from his allegiance to the King, and pledges the "lives, fortunes, and sacred honour" of his countrymen to maintain that right. But suppose that, after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, an American slave had asserted his right to liberty, might he not, as well as the patriot referred to, have called on his countrymen to acknowledge and defend his right? Certainly; and a thousand fold more emphatically. For the right of the patriot to dissolve his allegiance to the Crown is but a deduction from this great centre truth of the paper, that all men are created equal and have inalienable rights. But the title of the slave to his liberty—that is, to one of these inalienable rights—is this great centre truth itself. The title of the slave to his liberty is the great fountain head right. But the title of the patriot to be rescued from his peril is only a derivation from that fountain head right.

We add, as a reason why this great centre truth of human equality and inalienable right to liberty is entitled to supremacy in all the shaping and interpretation of American politics, that, but for it, and for the place it occupies in the Declaration of Independence, there would have been no American Constitution, and no American nation, and no American liberty. But for the commanding principle and mighty inspiration of this great centre truth, the colonists could not have been aroused to their glorious achievement. It was *in hoc signo*—it was by this sign—that our fathers conquered. Again: but for this commanding principle, and this mighty inspiration, the aid—the indispensable aid—that came to us from foreign shores, would not have come. Said Lafayette to Thomas Clarkson: "I would never have drawn my sword in the cause of America if I could have conceived that thereby I was founding a land of slavery." And there was Kosciusko, at whose fall "Freedom shrieked," and who provided by the will written by himself that his property in America should be used by his anti-slavery friend, Thomas Jefferson, in liberating and educating African slaves. Surely, he would not, with his eyes open, have fought to create a power that should be wielded in behalf of African slavery! O, how cruel and mean a fraud on those who fought for American liberty, to use that liberty for establishing and extending American slavery!

But we pass on from the Declaration of Independence to the Federal Constitution, and suppose, for the sake of argument, that Slavery survived the Declaration of Independence. Now, our first question is not what *is* the character of the Constitution in respect to slavery, but what, from the circumstances of the case, might we reasonably expect to find its character in this respect. Its reasonably expected character may be thought by many to shed light upon its actual character. Looking at the circumstances of the case, are we to expect to find the Constitution pro-slavery or anti-slavery?—made to uphold slavery or leave it an unprotected outlaw?

It is argued that the Constitution must be on the side of slavery, for the reason that it did not specifically demand the instant death of slavery. There is, however, no force in this argument, if we reflect that American slavery was at that time a dying Slavery; and that, therefore, even those of our statesmen who were most opposed to it were generally willing to leave it to die a natural death, rather than force it out of existence. Were a man condemned to be hung—nevertheless, if, when the day of hanging him had arrived, he were on his death-bed, you would not hang him, but you would leave him to die on his bed—to die a natural instead of a violent death. That our fathers did not anticipate the long continuance of slavery, is manifest from their purpose, disclosed in the Preamble of the Constitution and elsewhere, to set up a government which should maintain justice and liberty. They knew that no government could prove itself capable of this if under the influence, especially the overshadowing influence of slavery.

It is further argued that the Constitution must be on the side of slavery, because were it not on that side the slaveholders would not have consented to its adoption. But they

who argue thus, confound the slaveholders of that day, with the slaveholders of this: they forget that the slaveholders of that day breathed the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, and were captivated by the doctrine of the human brotherhood.

They forget that the slaveholders of that day were impatient to emancipate their slaves, and that in Virginia, where the number of slaves was so much less than now, they were emancipated at that period at the rate of a thousand a year. They forget that there were abolition societies in Slave States, both before and after the year 1800. They forget that Washington and Jefferson were practical emancipationists. They forget that whilst the slaveholders of this generation are intent on perpetuating and extending slavery, the slaveholders of that generation studied how to abolish it, and rejoiced in the prospect of its speedy abolition. They forget that while the slaveholders of this day are eager to overspread our whole national territory with slavery, all the slaveholders of that day joined with all other Americans in denying it new territory, and excluding it from every foot of the national territory. They forget that all the States at that time, with the exception of South Carolina and Georgia, advocated the anti-slavery policy; and that even these two States could hardly be said to have opposed it. And what, more than anything else, they should not forget, is that, over the whole length and breadth of the land, slavery was at that day a confessed sin—a sin, it is true, that all involved in it had not the integrity to put away immediately—but a sin, nevertheless, which all of them proposed to put away, in no very distant future. How striking the contrast, in this respect, between the circumstances of the slaveholder of that time, and the slaveholder of this! Now, the Bible, both at the North and at the South, is claimed to be for slavery; and now the church and the church-ministry at the South do nearly all go for slavery; and at the North do nearly all apologize for it. Now, slavery is right and the abolition of it wrong. Now, the slaveholder is the saint and the abolitionist the sinner. To illustrate, in still another way, the absurdity of inferring what slaveholders desired and did sixty or seventy years ago, from what they desire and do now; the pecuniary motive of the slaveholder to uphold slavery is now very strong. Then it was very weak. American cane-sugar, now wet with the tears and sweat and blood of tens of thousands of slaves, was then scarcely known. American cotton, which now fills the markets of the world, was then in none of the markets of the world. Then it was not among the interests of our country. Now, it is its dominant interest. It sways Church and State and commerce, and compels all of them to go for slavery. Then the price of a slave, that now sells for a thousand or fifteen hundred dollars, was but two hundred dollars.

I need say no more to show how liable we are to misinterpret the desires and designs of our fathers, in regard to the Constitution, if we look through the medium of the pro-slavery spirit and interests of our own day, instead of the medium of the anti-slavery spirit and interest of their day. To judge what character they would be likely to give to the Constitution, in respect to slavery, we must take our stand amid the anti-slavery scenes and influences of that period, and not amidst the pro-slavery scenes and influences which illustrate and reign over the present.

I readily admit that the slaveholders of the present day would not consent to the making of any other than a pro-slavery Constitution. I even admit that, had the making of the Constitution been delayed no more than a dozen years, it would (could it have been made at all) have been pro-slavery. I make this admission because I remember that, during these dozen years, Whitney's cotton gin (but for which invention American slavery would, long ago, have disappeared) came into operation, and fastened slavery upon the country.

In the light of what I have said, how improbable it is that the slaveholders were intent on having the Constitution made to uphold slavery. But, in the light of what I shall now say, how improbable it is that such a Constitution was made. Mr. Madison was among the most influential members of the Convention that framed the Constitution; and when he declared, in the Convention, that he "thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea that there could be property in man," not one person objected to the declaration—Indeed, the framers of the constitution not only kept it clear of the word "slave," and "slavery," and of all words of similar import, but they obviously determined that, if after ages should make the humiliating discovery that there had been slavery in this land, there nevertheless should be nothing in the pages of the Constitution to help them to such discovery. For instance the word "service" occurs repeatedly in the Constitution. But only four days before the Convention closed its labours, the word "servitude" was struck out of the Constitution, and the word "service" unanimously adopted in its place, for the avowed reason that the former expresses the condition of slaves, and the latter the obligations of free persons. I add the incidental remark, that if the Constitution is responsible for slavery, it is so because of the knavery or ignorance of its framers. If, on the one hand, notwithstanding their avowed reason for the substitution of "service" for "servitude," they still intended to have the Constitution thus responsible, then they were knaves: and if, on the other hand, they honestly intended to keep the Constitution clear of this guilty responsibility, and yet failed to do so, then does such failure betray their gross ignorance—their gross ignorance of the true meaning and fit use of words. Happily for those who give an anti-slavery construction

to the Constitution, they are under no necessity and no temptation to interpret the motives and conduct of its framers in the light of so odious an alternative. The pro-slavery party alone are so compelled to interpret them. Now, even were it true, that the framers of the Constitution, and all of them, too, sought to smuggle slavery into it—to get it into it without its being seen to be got into it—nevertheless, how could they accomplish this object, which, by the restrictions they had imposed on themselves, they had rendered impracticable? To work slavery into the Constitution, and yet preserve for the Constitution that anti-slavery appearance which, from the first, they had determined it should wear, and which they knew it must wear, or be promptly rejected by the people, was as impossible as to build up a fire in the sea.

But we will remain no longer outside of the constitution. Indeed, there is nothing, there can be nothing, outside of it, which can determine, or in any wise affect, its character on the subject of slavery. Nothing in the history of the framing, or adoption, or operation, of the Constitution can be legitimately cited to prove that it is pro-slavery or anti-slavery. The point is to be decided by the naked letter of the instrument, and by that only. If the letter is certainly for slavery, then the Constitution is for slavery—otherwise not. I say if it is *certainly* for slavery: I say so because slavery realizes the highest possible conception of radical injustice, and because there is no more reasonable rule of interpretation than that which denies that a law is to be construed in favour of such injustice when the law does not, in clear and express terms, embody and sanction it. The Supreme Court of the United States have adopted this rule in these words:—"Where rights are infringed, where fundamental principles are overthrown, where the general system of the laws is departed from, the legislative intention must be expressed with irresistible clearness to induce a court of justice to suppose a design to effect such objects."—2 *Cranch*, 390. The same enlightened and righteous policy, which led Mansfield to say "that slavery is so odious that nothing can be suffered to support it but positive law," obviously demands that no law shall be cited for slavery which is not expressly and clearly for slavery.

Much stress is laid on the intentions of the framers of the Constitution. But we are to make little more account of their intentions than of the intentions of the scrivener who is employed to write the deed of the land. It is the intentions of the adopters of the Constitution that we are to inquire after; and these we are to gather from the words of the Constitution and not from the words of the framers—for it is the text of the Constitution, and not the talk of the Convention, that the people adopted. It was the Constitution itself, and not any of the interpretations of it, or any of the talks or writings about it, that the people adopted.

Suppose that the bill now under discussion should, unhappily, become a statute—would it be necessary, in order to understand it, to know what the honourable gentleman of Kentucky [Mr. Preston,] who preceded me, said of it, or what I am saying of it? Certainly not. If I mean what I say nevertheless, my words could have no legitimate bearing on the interpretation of the statute. But my speech may be insincere. I may, as doubtless many a legislator has done, be practising on Talleyrand's definition: "Language is the art of concealing the thoughts"—and pray, what help, in that case to the just interpretation of the statute could my speech afford?

I said that the Constitution is what its adopters understood it to be—not what the distinguished few among them—but the masses—understood it to be: and what that was, the abolition petition headed by Benjamin Franklin, and presented to the first Congress under the Constitution, strikingly indicated. That it was not successful is another evidence that the views of the people often differ from the views of office-holders. Or, the failure was, perhaps, more properly to be regarded as an evidence of the understanding which doubtless did exist among at least some of the statesmen of that day, that slavery was not to be killed by the immediate application of the powers of the Constitution, but was to be allowed to linger through that age. Whilst I deny that there is a word in the Constitution to authorize the continuance of slavery, I, nevertheless, admit that there was, outside of the Constitution, the understanding to which I have referred—an understanding confined, however, to a few, and for which the masses were not responsible. A sad mistake, as it turns out, was this suffering of slavery to drag out its death-struck and feeble existence through that generation in which the Constitution was adopted!—for it was in that generation that, in consequence of the invention already spoken of, slavery became strong and began to demand prolonged life and vast powers as a right—an absolute and permanent right. The slut, in La Fontaine's fable, on the eve of becoming a mother, implored the brief loan of a kennel. But having once got possession of it, she found excuse for continuing the possession until her young dogs were grown up. With this reinforcement, it was not strange that she should be inspired by the maxim,—"might makes right," and should claim as absolutely her own, that which had been lent to her—and lent to her too, so generously and confidently. This fable illustrates but too well the successive feebleness and growth, and usurpation of slavery.

We begin with the Preamble of the Constitution. This, at least, is anti-slavery; and this tells us that the Constitution is anti-slavery; for it tells us that one thing for which the Constitution was made was "to secure the blessings of liberty"—not to inflict or

sustain, the curse of slavery—but to “secure the blessings of liberty.” I admit that the Preamble is not the Constitution. I admit that it is but the porch of the temple. Nevertheless, if, instead of the Demon of slavery, coiled up in that porch, we see the Goddess of Liberty standing proudly there, then we may infer that the temple itself, instead of being polluted with slavery, is consecrated to Liberty.—And we are not mistaken in this inference. As we walk through the temple, we find that it corresponds with the entrance. The Constitution is in harmony with the Preamble.

The first reference in the Constitution, to slavery, is in the apportionment clause. There is, however, no reference to it here, if the language is interpreted according to its legal sense, or if the framers of that Constitution were intelligent and honest. It must be remarked that it was from this clause that they struck out the word “servitude,” for the avowed purpose of saving it from being a pro-slavery clause. But, in point of fact, if this clause does refer to slavery, it is, nevertheless, a clause not to encourage, but to discourage slavery. The clause diminishes the power of a State in the national councils in proportion to the extent of its slavery. This clause is, in truth, a bounty on emancipation. Had it provided that drunkards should each count but three-fifths of a man, it, surely, would not be called a clause to encourage drunkenness. Or, had it provided that they who can neither read nor write should each count but three-fifths of a man, it surely would not be called a clause to encourage illiterateness. In the one case, it would be a bounty on sobriety, and, in the other, on education.

The next clause of the Constitution which we will examine is that which confessedly empowered Congress to abolish the foreign slave trade. I, of course, mean the clause which empowers Congress to regulate commerce with foreign nations. Yes, the slave States confessedly conceded to Congress the power to abolish that trade; and Congress did actually abolish it. But it is said that the provision respecting “migration or importation” suspended the exercise of this power for twenty years. Under no legal or proper sense of it, however, does this provision refer to slaves. But, for the sake of the argument, we will admit that it does, and that it had the effect to suspend, for twenty years, the exercise of the power in question. What then? The suspension could not destroy, or, to any degree, impair the essential anti-slavery character of the clause under consideration.—On the contrary, the suspension itself shows that the clause was regarded, by the makers of the Constitution, as potentially anti-slavery: as one that was capable of being wielded, and that, probably, would be wielded, to suppress the slave trade. I would add that this brief suspension goes to justify the position that American Slavery was looked upon in that day, as a rapidly expiring practice—as a vice that would die out in a few years. There is much historical evidence that the abolition of the slave trade was looked to by many, if not, indeed, by most at that time, either as equivalent to, or as sure to result in the abolition of slavery. The power given to Congress to abolish the slave trade, Mr. Dawes, in the Massachusetts Convention that adopted the Constitution, declared to be “the mortal wound” of slavery. Manifestly, the clause of the Constitution which imparts power to abolish the slave trade, and not that which briefly suspends the exercise of this power, gives character to the Constitution. If my neighbour deeds me his farm, only reserving to himself the possession of it for a month (and a week in the life of an individual is longer than twenty years in the life of a nation,) it would, certainly, be very absurd to call it a transaction for continuing him in the ownership and possession of the farm. Or, if the bargain which I make with my neighbour is that, after a week’s delay, he shall come into my service for life, it is certainly not this little delay that is to stamp the essential and important character of the bargain.

I have referred to only a part of the clause which gives power to Congress to abolish the slave trade: to only that part which respects the foreign slave trade. I now add, that this clause gives equal power to abolish the inter-State slave trade. And if it does, how idle must it be to say that a Constitution which empowers Congress to abolish not only the foreign, but the domestic slave trade, is a Constitution for slavery! To abolish the domestic slave trade is to cut the very jugular of slavery.

But it is said the power “to regulate commerce among the several States” is not a power to abolish the slave trade between them. But, if it is not, then the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations is not a power to abolish the African slave trade. Nevertheless, Congress held that it was; and, in that day, when slavery was not in the ascendant, everybody agreed with Congress.

It is further said that the Constitution knows human beings only as persons; and that hence, the inter-State traffic in slaves being, in its eye, but migration or travel, Congress has no power to suppress it. Then, what right had Congress to abolish the African slave trade? The subjects of that traffic, no less than the subjects of the inter-State traffic, are persons.

Another reply which we make to the position that all human beings are persons in the eye of the Constitution, is that it cannot lie in the mouth of those who carry on the traffic in slaves to ignore the true character of that traffic, and to shelter its chattel subjects under the name of persons. And another reply which we make to this position is that it is true; and that, hence, the traffic in slaves, every slave being a person,

is unconstitutional. If the Constitution grants power to Congress over commerce, it necessarily defines the subjects of the commerce. Such definition is involved in such grant. But slaves cannot come within such definition; for slaves are persons, and persons cannot be the subjects of commerce. And still another reply that we have to make to those who would exempt the inter-State traffic in human beings from the control of Congress, on the ground that Congress can know no human being as a chattel, or as other than a person, is that they are driven by logical consistency and logical necessity to the conclusion that the Constitution has power to sweep away the whole of American slavery. The Constitution extends its shield over every *person* in the United States; and every *person* in the United States has rights specified in the Constitution that are entirely incompatible with his subjection to slavery.

Ere leaving this topic, I would notice an objection which is frequently heard from the lips of earnest anti-slavery men. It is that the Constitution omits to command Congress, in terms, to abolish the African slave trade, even at the end of twenty years. But why do they fail to see that this very omission marks the anti-slavery character of the Constitution and of the day when it was written? Doomed slavery then needed an express stipulation for its respite. But to enjoin anti-slavery action upon those who could be held back from it only by such express stipulation was of course deemed superfluous. The sentence of the court is, the mother shall not kiss her infant for twenty days. The court need not enjoin that she shall kiss it after the twenty days are expired. Her love for her infant makes such an injunction superfluous. So was it unnecessary to enjoin upon the anti-slavery zeal of our fathers the abolition of the slave trade at the expiration of twenty years. Scarcely had the twenty years expired before that zeal forbade, under the heaviest penalties, the continuance of that accursed trade. An ancient nation regarded parricide as too unnatural and monstrous a crime to need the interdiction of law. And our fathers regarded the African slave trade as a crime so unnatural and monstrous as to make their injunctions on Congress to abolish it altogether superfluous.

We have now disposed of two of the three clauses of the Constitution which are assumed to be pro-slavery, viz.: the apportionment clause, and the migration and importation clause. The third refers to fugitive servants, but certainly not to fugitive slaves. Whether we look at the letter or history of this clause, it can have no reference to slaves. No one pretends that slaves are expressly and clearly defined in it; and hence, according to the Supreme Court, which I have quoted, slaves are not referred to in it. Again, none deny that the term of the clause makes it applicable to apprentices, minor children and others. All admit that, in the most natural use of language, it is capable of innocent applications.

The clause under consideration speaks of a "person held to service or labour in one State, under the laws thereof." Now, unless these laws are for slavery, the "service or labour" cannot be slavery; and if they are for slavery, then they cannot hold any person to slavery, unless they are valid laws, unless they are in harmony with the Constitution. If the Constitution is against slavery, then pro-slavery laws are but nominal laws. It will be more timely at the close of my argument than now to say whether the Constitution is against or for slavery. In the next place, the clause speaks of a *person*. But, as we shall more fully see, there are rights claimed for *persons* by the Constitution itself, which must all be trodden under foot before *persons* can be reduced to slavery. Another reason why the fugitives referred to in this clause are not slaves is, that "service or labour" is "due" to their employer from these fugitives. But slaves, by every American definition of slaves, are as incapable of owing as are horses or even horse blocks. So, too, by every English definition of slaves. Says Justice Best, in case of Forbes vs. Cochran: "A slave is incapable of compact." And another reason why this clause cannot refer to slaves is, that the fugitives in it are held by the laws to labour. But slaves no more than oxen are held by the laws to labour. The laws no more interpose to compel labour in the one case than in the other. And still another reason why this clause is not to be taken as referring to slaves is the absurdity of supposing that our fathers consented to treat as slaves whatever persons, white or black, high or low, virtuous or vicious, any future laws of any State might declare to be slaves. Shall we of the North be bound to acquiesce in the slavery of our children, who may emigrate to the South, provided the laws of the South shall declare Northern emigrants to be slaves? Nay, more, shall we be bound to replunge those children into slavery if they escape from it? But all this we shall be bound to do if the pro-slavery interpretation of the clause in question is the true interpretation. Ay, and in that case, we shall be bound to justify even our own slavery, should we be caught at the South and legislated into slavery. The intimation that slavery may yet take a much wider range in supplying itself with victims, is by no means extravagant or unauthorized. The Supreme Court of the United States opens a wide door to this end in the case of Strader and others against Gorham, some three years ago. In that case, the Court claimed that a State "has an undoubted right to determine the *status* or domestic and social condition of the persons domiciled within its territory." By the way, this doctrine of the Supreme Court, that there are no natural rights, and that all rights stand but in the concessions

and uncertainties of human legislation, is a legitimate outgrowth of slavery. For slavery is a war upon nature, and is a devourer of the rights of nature; and claims that all rights, and all interests, natural and conventional, shall accommodate themselves to its demands.

We need spend no more time on the letter of this clause. We will now look at its history. It is a well nigh universal impression that this clause is one of the compromises of the Constitution. But there is not the slightest foundation in truth for this impression. In none of the numerous plans of a constitution submitted to its framers was the subject matter of this clause mentioned. Indeed, it was not mentioned at all until twenty days before the close of the Convention. This clause, when its insertion was first moved, contained the word "slave." But, with that word in it, it met with such strenuous opposition as to compel the immediate withdrawal of the motion. The next day, however, it was offered again, but with the word slave struck out. In this amended and harmless form it was adopted immediately, without debate, and unanimously. I add, by the way, that no one believes that a clause providing, in express terms, for the surrender of the whole American soil to the chasing down, and enslaving of men, women, and children, could ever have gained the vote of the Convention; or that, if it had, the Constitution, with such a disgusting blot on it, could ever have been adopted.

Another reason for not claiming this clause to be pro-slavery is, that the American people did, in all probability, regard the word "service" as expressing the condition of freemen. So, as we have seen, the members of the Constitutional Convention regarded it: and, inasmuch as they came together from all parts of the country, and represented all classes and sections of the American people, is it not a fair inference that they used language in the sense approved by the American people?

We have now examined those parts of the Constitution which are relied on to give it a pro-slavery character, and we find that they are not entitled to give it this character. We proceed to glance at some, and only some, of those parts of the Constitution which clearly prove its anti-slavery character; which are utterly incompatible with slavery, and which, therefore, demand its abolition.

1st. *"Congress has power to provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States."*

But Congress has not this power, if the obstacles of slavery may be put in the way of its exercise. A man cannot be said to have law for driving his carriage through the streets, if another man has law for blocking its wheels. If the States may establish the most atrocious wrongs within their borders, and thus create an atmosphere, in which the Federal Government cannot "live and move and have its being;" then, within those borders, the Federal Government may be reduced to a nullity. The power referred to in this clause Congress will never have faithfully exercised, so long as it leaves millions of foes in the bosom of our country. By enrolling the slaves in the militia, and yielding to their Constitutional right "to keep and bear arms"—which is, in effect, to abolish slavery—Congress would convert those foes into friends. The power in question, Patrick Henry, who was then the orator of America, held to be sufficient for abolishing slavery. In the Virginia Convention, which passed upon the Federal Constitution, Mr. Henry said; "May Congress not say, that every black man must fight? Did we not see a little of this, the last war? We were not so hard pushed as to make emancipation general. But acts of Assembly passed, that every slave, who would go to the army, should be free. Another thing will contribute to bring this event about. Slavery is detested. We feel its fatal effects. We deplore it with all the pity of humanity. Let all these considerations, at some future period, press with full force on the minds of Congress. They will read that paper, (the Constitution,) and see if they have power of manumission. And have they not, sir? Have they not power to provide for the general defence and welfare? May they not think, that that calls for the abolition of slavery? May they not pronounce all slaves free?—and will they not be warranted by that power? There is no ambiguous implication or logical deduction. *The paper speaks to the point. They have the power in clear and unequivocal terms; and will clearly and certainly exercise it."*

2d. *"Congress has power to impose a capitation tax."*

Manifestly, Congress can pay no respect in this case to the distinction of bond and free. It can look for the tax to none other than the subject of the tax. But if any of them do not own themselves, they cannot owe the tax. This clause implies, therefore, the self-ownership of men, and not their ownership by others.

3d. *"Congress shall have power to establish a uniform rule of naturalization."*

But this power, if faithfully exercised, is fatal to slavery. For, if our three millions and a half of slaves are not already citizens, Congress can, under this power, make them such, at any time. It can confer on them, as easily as on foreigners, the rights of citizenship. I add, that, had the slaveholders wished, (as however they did not,) to perpetuate slavery, they would, they could, have qualified this absolute and unlimited power of naturalization, which the Constitution confers on Congress.

4th. *"The Congress shall have power to promote the progress of science and useful*

arts by securing for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries."

This clause clearly authorizes Congress to encourage and reward the genius, as well of him, who is called a slave, as of any other person. One person as much as another, is entitled to a copy-right of his book and to a patent for his meritorious invention. Not so, however, if there may be slavery. For the victim of slavery has no rights; and the productions of his mind, no less than the productions of his hands, belong to his master.

5th. "*Congress shall have power to declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal—to raise and support armies—to provide and maintain a navy.*"

It necessarily follows, from the unconditional power of Congress to carry on war, that it can contract with whom it pleases—white or black, employer or employed—to fight its battles; and can secure to each his wages, pension, or prize money. But utterly inconsistent with this absolute power of Congress, is the claim of the slaveholder to the time, the earnings, the will, the all, of the sailor, or soldier, whom he calls his slave.

6th. "*The United States shall guaranty to every State in this Union a republican form of government.*"

It is a common opinion, that the General Government should not concern itself with the internal policy and arrangements of a State. But this opinion is not justified by the Constitution. The case may occur, where the neglect thus to concern itself would involve its own ruin as well as the greatest wrong and distress to the people of a State. How could the General Government be maintained, if in one State suffrage were universal, and in another conditioned on the possession of land, and in another on the possession of money, and in another on the possession of slaves, and in another on the possession of literary or scientific attainments, and in another on the possession of a prescribed religious creed, and if in others it were conditioned on still other possessions and attainments? How little resemblance and sympathy there would be, in that case, between the Congressional representatives of the different States! How great would be the discord in our National Councils! How speedy the ruin to our National and subordinate interests! In such circumstances, the General Government would be clearly bound to insist on an essential uniformity in the State Governments. But what would be due from the General Government then, is emphatically due from it now. Our nation is already brought into great peril by the slaveocratic element in its councils; and in not a few of the States, the white as well as the black masses are crushed by that political element. Surely the nation is entitled to liberation from this peril; and, surely, these masses have a perfectly Constitutional, as well as most urgent, claim on the nation for deliverance from the worst of despotisms, and for the enjoyment of a "republican form of government."

7th. "*No State shall pass any Bill of attainder.*"

But what is so emphatic, and causeless, and merciless a bill of attainder as that which attains a woman of all her posterity for no other reason than that there is African blood in her veins?

8th. "*The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.*"

Blackstone pronounces this writ "the most celebrated writ of England and the chief bulwark of the Constitution." One of his editors, Mr. Christian, says, that "it is this writ which makes slavery impossible in England." Equally impossible, in theory, does it make slavery in America. And in both countries the impossibility springs from the fact, that the writ is entirely incompatible with the claim of property in man. In the presence of such a claim, if valid, this writ is impotent, for if property can be pleaded in the prisoner, (and possession is proof of ownership,) the writ is defeated.

Slavery cannot be legalized short of suspending the writ of habeas corpus in the case of the slaves. But, inasmuch as the Constitution provides for no such suspension, there is no legal Slavery in the nation.

I add that the Federal Government should see to it, that in every part of the nation where there are slaves, if need be, in every county, or even town, there are Judges who will faithfully use this writ for their deliverance.

9th. "*No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.*"

Let this provision have free course, and it puts an end to American Slavery. It is claimed, however, that inasmuch as the slave is held by law (which, in point of fact, he is not,) and, therefore, "by due process of law," nothing can be gained for him from this provision. But, inasmuch as this provision is an organic and fundamental law, it is not subject to any other law, but is paramount to every other law. Moreover, it is a great mistake to confound the laws, so called, by which persons are held in Slavery with "due process of law."

Justice Bronson, says [Hill's Reports, IV. 146] of this part of the Constitution:

"*The meaning of the section then seems to be, that no member of the State shall be disfranchised, or deprived of any of his rights or privileges, unless the matter shall be adjudged against him, upon trial had according to the course of the common law.*"

He adds: "The words 'due process of law,' in this place, cannot mean less than a prosecution or suit, instituted and conducted according to the prescribed forms and solemnities for ascertaining guilt, or determining the title to property."

Lord Coke explains "due process of law" to be, "by indictment or presentment of good and lawful men, where such deeds be done in due manner, or by suit original of the common law."

The defenders of the Constitutionality of State Slavery are driven to the position, that such specific denials of the definition and violation of rights, as I have just quoted from one of the amendments of the Constitution, are limitations upon the power of the Federal Government only. They say, that it is to be inferred that the limitations are on Federal power, when the Constitution does not point out whether they are on Federal or State power. Whence, however, is this inference justified? From the fact, it is answered, that the Federal power is the subject matter of the Constitution—is that of which it treats—is that which it constitutes. But the Constitution is a paper, not merely for establishing the Federal Government, and prescribing its character and limits. It is, also, a paper for determining the boundaries of State authority. And the latter purpose is no less important or necessary than the former. Happily, however, the original Constitution left nothing to inference in this matter. It does not need a more frequent occurrence of the word "Congress" in them to make it entirely plain that the eighth and ninth sections of the first article of the Constitution are devoted to an enumeration of the powers and disabilities of Congress. Nor is it less plain, that the tenth section of this article is taken up with the enumeration of the disabilities of the States. I have seen an old copy of the constitution, printed in Virginia, in which "Powers of Congress" is at the head of the eighth section, and "Restrictions upon Congress" is at the head of the ninth section, and "Restrictions upon respective States" is at the head of the tenth section. The repetition of the word "State," in the tenth section, would have been as unnecessary as the repetition of the word "Congress" in the ninth section, had the denial of State powers been preceded by the enumeration of State powers, as is the denial of Federal powers by the enumeration of Federal powers.

So far, then, as these sections are concerned, it is not left to the looseness of inference to determine whether the Constitution is applicable to a State, or to the Nation. One of the sections contains limitations on the Federal government. The next contains limitations on another Government—*another* Government, since the latter limitations are, to some extent, identical with the former, and would, of course, not be repeated were but one Government in view. What, however, but a State Government could this other Government be? And yet, to avoid all unnecessary inference, the word "State" is repeated several times in connexion with these latter limitations. And now we ask where in the original Constitution, either before or after the three sections which we have referred to, is it left to be inferred whether the powers granted are National or State powers. Nowhere is there such uncertainty. We will now take up the amendments of the Constitution. It is in them that we find those specific denials of the deprivation and violation of rights which forbid slavery—such denials, for instance, as that "No person shall be deprived of life, or liberty, or property, without due process of law."

Twelve articles of amendment were proposed by the first Congress. The first three and the last two do in terms, apply to the Federal Government, and to that only. In the case of most of the remaining seven, their application is a matter of inference. Whilst, however, it would be a gross violation of the laws of inference to say that they apply to the Federal Government only, it would be in perfect accordance with these to say that, inasmuch as a part of the amendments refer expressly to that Government only, the remainder refer to both the Federal and State Governments or to the State Governments only.

Because the first one of the adopted amendments refers expressly to the Federal Government and that only, there are probably many persons who take it for granted that the other amendments follow this lead of the first and have the same reference as the first. They would not take this for granted, however, did they know that this first of the adopted amendments was the third of the proposed amendments, and that it came to be numbered the first only because the preceding two were rejected. It is entitled, therefore, to give no lead and no complexion to the amendments which follow it. And this conclusion is not weakened, but strengthened, by the fact that these two amendments both expressly referred to the Federal Government. I would here add, what may not be known to all, that the eleventh and twelfth of the adopted amendments were proposed by Congress after the other ten were adopted.

In addition to the reason we have given why a part of the amendments of the Constitution refer either to the State Governments exclusively, or to both the Federal and State Governments, is that which arises from the fact that they are, in their nature and meaning, as applicable to a State Government as to the Federal Government. To say that such amendments as the second, third, and fourth, were not intended to apply to the whole nation, and were intended to apply only to the little handful of persons under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Federal Government, is to say what cannot be defended. Again, if there be only a reasonable doubt that the fifth amendment refers exclusively

to the Federal Government, it should be construed as referring to State Governments also; for human liberty is entitled to the benefit of every reasonable doubt; and this is a case in which human liberty is most emphatically concerned.

We have no right to go out of the Constitution for the purpose of learning whether the amendments in question are or are not limitations on State Governments. It is enough that they are, in their terms, nature and meaning, as suitable limitations on the Government of a State, as on the National Government. Being such limitations, we are bound to believe that the people, when adopting these amendments by their Legislatures, interpreted them as having the two-fold application which we claim for them. Being such limitations, we must insist, whether our fathers did or did not, on this two-fold application. Being prohibitions on the Government of a State as well as on the National Government, we must, in the name of religion and reason, of God and man, protest against limiting the prohibition to the National Government for the exceedingly wicked purpose of continuing the bondage of millions of our fellow men.

Had we the right, by reason of any obscurity in the teachings of the Constitution on the point under consideration, or from any other cause, to go into collateral evidences of the character of these teachings, we should find our interpretation not weakened, but confirmed.

Nearly all the amendments of the Constitution, and, indeed, all of them which concern our present argument, were taken from the Bill of Rights which the Virginia Convention proposed to have incorporated with the Federal Constitution. But, inasmuch as this Bill of Rights speaks neither of Congress nor the Federal Government, its language is to be construed as no less applicable to a State than to the Nation, as providing security no less against the abuse of State power than Federal power.

Again: in the Congress, which submitted the amendments, Mr. Madison was the first person to move in the matter. He proposed two series of amendments, one of them affecting Federal, and the other State powers. His proposition provided to have them interwoven in the original Constitution. For instance, the negations of Federal Power were to be included in the ninth section of the first article; and the negations of State power in the tenth section of that article. And, what is more, several of the amendments, which he proposed to include in this tenth section, are, not only in substance, but almost precisely in letter, identical with amendments which became a part of the Constitution. It was in the following words that Mr. Madison justified his proposition to restrain the States: "I think there is more danger of these powers being abused by the State Governments than by the Government of the United States." "It must be admitted on all hands, that the State Governments are as liable to attack these invaluable privileges, as the General Government is, and therefore ought to be as cautiously guarded against." "I should, therefore, wish to extend this interdiction, and add, that no State shall violate," &c. If there was any reason to restrain the Government of the United States from infringing upon these essential rights, it was equally that they should be secured against the State Governments. He thought, that if they provided against the one, it was as necessary to provide against the other, and was satisfied, that it would be equally grateful to the people.

The House of Representatives did not adopt Mr. Madison's plan of distributing the amendments through the original Constitution, and thus expressly applying one to the Federal and another to a State Government. On the contrary, it made them a supplement to the original Constitution, and left a part of them couched in terms, that render them equally applicable either to one Government or the other. It must not be forgotten that Mr. Madison's plan was embodied in the report of a committee, and was kept before the House a long time. Nor must it be forgotten, that whatever may have been said by this or that speaker, in respect to the application of this or that amendment, no vote was taken declaring that all, or, indeed, any of the amendments apply to the General Government. What, however, is still more memorable is, that there was a vote taken, which shows that the House did not mean to have all the amendments apply to the General Government, only. The vote was on the following proposed amendment: "No person shall be subject, in case of impeachment, to more than one trial, or one punishment for the same offence, nor shall be compelled to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law," &c. Mr. Hartridge, of Massachusetts, moved to insert after "same offences" the words: "by any law of the United States." His motion failed: and its failure proved, that the House would restrain a State, as well as the Nation, from such oppression.

As the Senate sat with closed doors, we know nothing of its proceedings in respect to the amendments, except that it concurred with the House in recommending them.

I will say no more in regard to the meaning of the amendments. Is it claimed, that if the original Constitution is pro-slavery and the amendments anti-slavery, the original Constitution shall prevail against the amendments? As well might it be claimed to reverse the rule in the case of a will and to have its repugnant language to prevail against the codicil. The amendments of the Constitution, are the codicils of the Constitution; and if any where they conflict with it, the Constitution must yield.

I have, now, done, not only with the amendments, but with the entire Constitution. Within the compass of a single speech, I could, of course, comprise but an outline of my argument. I commend to my hearers the arguments of William Goodell and Lysander Spooner on this subject. It must be very difficult for an intelligent person to rise from the candid reading of Mr. Spooner's book, entitled "The Unconstitutionality of Slavery," without being convinced, by its unsurpassed logic, that American slavery finds no protection in the Constitution.

I said, that I have, now, done with the Constitution. I believe, I am warranted in adding, that I have reached the conclusion, that there is power in the Constitution to abolish every part of American slavery. Is it said, that this conclusion, notwithstanding the manifest logical necessity for arriving at it, is, nevertheless, not sound? One of the objections to its soundness—viz.: that the slaveholders could never have consented to adopt a Constitution of such anti-slavery powers—I have already replied to, by saying, that the slaveholders of that day being against the continuance of Slavery, and the slaveholders of this day for it, the former cannot be judged of in the light of the character of the latter. To this I add, that whatever were the slaveholders of that day, and whatever were their motives in adopting an anti-slavery Constitution, they, nevertheless, did adopt it, just as it is—anti-slavery as it is. The other principal objection to the soundness of my conclusion is, that neither slaveholders nor non-slaveholders would have consented to adopt a Constitution which annihilates State sovereignty. My answer to the latter objection is, that the States are not sovereign, and were not intended by the Constitution to be sovereign. The simple truth is, that our fathers refused to repeat the experiment of a Confederacy of States; and that, instead of it, they devised for themselves and their posterity a Government, which is altogether too broad and binding to consist with State sovereignty. The Constitution prescribes limits to the State quite too narrow for the play of sovereignty. It denies the State many specific powers, each of which is vital to sovereignty. For instance, it restrains it from entering into a treaty; and from coining money; and, if the power to deprive "of life, liberty, or property," is vital to sovereignty, then, as we have seen, the State is not sovereign, because it has not this power. Our fathers would not consent, that any section of their fellow-men, with whom they had come under a common Government, should outrage essential human rights. Our fathers would not fraternize with the people of Massachusetts, and yet allow them to plunder each other of property. They would not consent to be one people with murderers, and, therefore, they would not allow room for the Pennsylvanians to turn Thugs. And slavery, being worse than murder, (for what intelligent parent would not rather have his children despatched by the murderer, than chained by the slaveholder?)—slavery being, indeed, the greatest wrong to man, of which we can conceive—our fathers would not come under the same Government with Virginians, if Virginians were to be allowed to enslave and buy and sell men. Does the Constitution require us to remain bound up with Pennsylvania, even though her policy is to shoot all her adult subjects, whose stature falls below five feet? Does it require us to continue in the same political brotherhood with Virginia, even though she shall enslave all her light-haired subjects, (or, what is the same in principle,) all her dark-skinned subjects? So far from it, there is power in that Constitution to hold back Pennsylvania and Virginia from the commission of these crimes.

Every person remembers one part of the tenth amendment of the Constitution; and every person seems to have forgotten the other. Every day do we hear, that powers are reserved by the Constitution to the States; but, no day, do we hear, that powers are "prohibited by it to the States." Now, among these prohibited powers, is that of classing men with horses and hogs.

Let it not be implied from what I said, a minute ago, that I would admit the competence of a State Government to enslave its subjects, provided the Federal Constitution had not curtailed its sovereignty. No human Government, however unlimited its sovereignty, has authority to reduce man to a chattel—to transform immortality into merchandise. And cannot I add with truth, and without irreverence, that such authority comes not within the limits even of the Divine Government?

Nor let it be implied that I am indifferent to State rights. I am strenuous for their maintenance; and I would go to the extreme verge of the Constitution to swell their number. But there I stop. The province of the State shall not with my consent, encroach upon the province of the Nation; nor upon the ground denied to both by the law of God and the limits of civil government.

It is sometimes said, that the amendment, on which I have spoken so extensively, refers to criminal prosecutions only. But what if this were so? It would, nevertheless, cover the case of the slave. You, surely, would not have a man stripped of his liberty, ay, and of his manhood too, who is not charged with crime. The Government, which says that it will make him who is not a criminal, a slave, confesses itself to be unutterably unjust and base.

The Constitution, as has been seen in the course of my argument, forbids slavery. Its pro-slavery character has been assumed. What is there, indeed, that will make for

itself, that slavery does not assume? No wonder! It is itself but a mere assumption—and the most monstrous assumption. The only wonder is—and the sorrow is as great as the wonder—that the American people should be in the miserable, servile habit of yielding to all these bare-faced assumptions of slavery. The speakers on both sides of this bill have taken it for granted, that the Constitution is pro-slavery;—and when the honourable gentleman of North Carolina [Mr. Clingman] coolly said: “Every single provision in that instrument, (the Constitution,) is pro-slavery—that is, for the protection and defence and increase of slavery,” no one seemed to doubt the truth of what he was saying, any more than if he had been reading Christ’s Sermon on the Mount. And yet, the instrument, of which the honourable gentleman affirmed all this, refused to pollute its pages with the word “slavery,” or even with a word (servitude,) which might, possibly be construed into slavery! Moreover, the instrument avows, that “to secure the blessings of liberty,” is among its objects. Though administered to uphold the curse of slavery, the Constitution was, nevertheless, made “to secure the blessings of liberty.” Hence, the declaration, in the former part of my Speech, that **THERE IS NO LAW FOR AMERICAN SLAVERY, IS TRUE.**

Practical Essays.

AN UNINTERESTING MEETING.

“Are you going to the prayer meeting?” said Mrs. Thompson to her daughter Susan, as the hour for the meeting drew nigh.—“I do not know, mother; if I was sure it would be an interesting meeting I would go, but the meetings have been so uninteresting lately that I feel almost afraid to go.”—“Are you afraid that you will do wrong in going?”—“No, ma’am, but it is so dull and tiresome when no one has anything to say, and when the same prayers are repeated over and over again.”—“Do you think we go to meeting to be interested and amused?”—“I do not suppose we go to be amused, but we must be interested, or we cannot be profited.”—“I do not suppose that we go to be interested, that is, I do not suppose we are to go and remain passive, without any effort on our part to become interested. It is our duty to be interested, and we should take all means in our power to become interested.”—“If a meeting is not interesting, it is impossible for me to be interested in it. I might as well try to make yonder dead tree look green as to try to be interested in an uninteresting meeting.”—“A meeting which is uninteresting to us when in one state of mind, may be very interesting when we are in another state of mind. I remember soon after you thought you were converted, you were greatly interested in a sermon preached by Mr. Hall; and when last summer he preached the same sermon, you thought it quite dull. So meetings may be uninteresting because of the deadness of our hearts. If we go with warm hearts, we shall seldom or never fail to hear something said that will interest us and do us good.”—“It seems to me, mother, you would have us get beforehand what we go to the prayer meeting to get.”—“No, I think we should make preparation for that duty as well as for other duties. If you are going to present a petition to a ruler, you prepare it with care and reflect upon the time and manner of presenting it. If you are going to the sewing society, you make the proper preparation. If you are going to meet a few friends, you do the same. Why not make a similar preparation when we go to present our petitions to God? The chief business at a prayer meeting is to pray. Preparation should be made for the proper and profitable performance of that duty. A person cannot rush from a scene of amusement, and join in spirit with those who are drawing near to God. If preparation is necessary to meet an earthly monarch, much more is it necessary to meet the King of kings.”

At this moment Mr. Chandler came in. He was a member of the church, but never attended prayer meetings. He was not in the habit of it, he said, and he seemed to regard the statement of that fact as a sufficient excuse for non-attendance. He was engaged in business, and would have thought it strange if a debtor, when called upon to pay him, should decline, and give as an excuse that he was not in the habit of paying his debts. It would be difficult to show that the principle is not the same in both the excuses.—“You have called to go to the meeting with me,” said Mrs. Thompson, a little mischievously.—“What meeting?” said Mr. Chandler.—“The prayer meeting.”—“I cannot say that such was my object, but I never refuse a lady’s request. I shall be happy to go with you.”—“I believe I did not make any request, but there are many besides myself who will be pleased to see you at the meeting.”—“I’m not in the habit of going, and I don’t think any one will be the better for my going, still I am ready. How long do the meetings

hold?"—"That depends on circumstances."—"Not more than an hour?"—"Or, two perhaps."—"The minister does all the talking, don't he?"—"He always gives the brethren an opportunity to speak; he will doubtless ask you to speak."—"Ask me! what should he do that for?"—"That you may enjoy your privilege, and edify others."—"I think you must excuse me from going, if that is likely to be the case. I never spoke in meeting in my life. I could not speak ten sentences if I were to try."—"I heard you made an excellent speech at the meeting concerning the division of the town. Mr. Green said your speech caused the vote to be against division. It seems that you *can* speak in meeting."—"That was not a religious meeting, and there was something to be done. It was necessary to convince the people that the township ought not to be divided."—"There is something to be done in religious meetings. People ought to be convinced that they should seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness."—"They are convinced of that, at least they don't deny it."—"Then they need to be urged to carry their convictions into practice."—"It is the minister's business to do that. If you will excuse me, I will not go to the meeting to-night. I promised I would see Mr. Green some time this week, I may as well go now as any time."—"How do you know that he will not be at the meeting?"—"Well, it will be pretty safe to take it for granted he will not be. Good evening."

He spoke truly when he said, it was safe to take it for granted that Mr. Green would not be at the prayer meeting. Like numbers of the members of our churches, he was never seen at a meeting.

What a change would take place in the condition of all our churches and of the world, if all the members of our churches except those who were detained by sickness, were to assemble weekly for prayer! And what a change would take place with reference to those who do attend, if they always went to the place of prayer with due preparation to meet God, and with the full expectation of meeting Him. I am afraid that even praying men and women think that interesting meetings are in a great measure the result of accident.

It is true that at times, God, in sovereign mercy, comes down by his Spirit into the midst of those who assemble without any preparation to meet Him. But in general, the uniform laws of the spiritual world take their course; and it is as unreasonable to expect a flourishing garden without previous cultivation, as an interesting meeting without previous preparation of heart.—*N. Y. Obs.*

CHARITY BEGINS AT HOME.—"Bishop," says an agent for foreign missions, "cannot your diocese aid our mission to —?" "We should be glad to do so," perhaps the bishop replies, "but the diocese requires all its means for its own support. Our country churches are continually begging for assistance, and all we can spare must be given to them. Charity begins at home, sir."

"Cannot your parish aid our diocesan fund?" says the bishop to one of his clergy. "We should be glad to do it," replies the clergyman, "but the parish requires all its means for its own support. Many of our families are very poor, and all we can spare is bestowed on them. Charity begins at home, bishop."

"Cannot your family aid our parish benevolent society?" says a pastor to a parishioner. "I should be glad to do it," replies the parishioner, "but my family require all their means for their own support. Two of my children have been unfortunate in the world, and all we can spare is devoted to them. Charity begins at home, sir."

"Cannot you aid your brother?" says a father to a son. "I should be glad to do it, but I require all my means for my own support. My house wants repairs, and all I can spare must be appropriated to them. Charity begins at home, father."

Thus every call of liberality might be postponed until the last want, even of luxury, was satisfied. And is this charity? *My* parish; *my* family; *my* house; *myself*. This the expansive genius of Christian benevolence? No, it is mere selfishness in disguise. Charity does *begin* at home, but she does not forever stay at home. No, she traverses the earth, and though not unmindful of the claims of brotherhood and kindred, from her horn of plenty she dispenses blessings wherever there is a hand stretched forth to receive them.

Speaking of missionaries to Romanists, the *Telegraph* says:—"They seek to make a Catholic people everywhere as bad, as vile, as infidel, and as forgetful of all the ties of nature and of blood as the anti-Catholic, arsenic manipulating, husband-slaying, child-murdering rural and town population of England." "They are doing the devil's work."

"What do you think," said La Place to a friend, "is the greatest absurdity that man ever uttered? It is the doctrine of transubstantiation; because it violates the laws both of time and space."

MATURITY OF GRACE.

1. When the corn is near ripe, it bows the head and stoops lower than when it was green. When the people of God are near ripe for heaven, they grow more humble and self-denying than in the days of their first profession. The longer a saint grows in the world, the better still is he acquainted with his own heart and obligations to God; both of which are very humbling things. Paul had one foot in heaven when he called himself the chiefest of sinners and least of saints. 1 Tim. i. 15; Eph. iii. 8. A Christian, in the progress of his knowledge and grace, is like a vessel cast into the sea—the more it fills, the deeper it sinks.

2. When the harvest is nigh, the grain is more solid and pithy than ever it was before. Green corn is soft and spongy, but ripe corn is substantial and weighty. So it is with Christians; the affections of a young Christian, perhaps are more fervid and sprightly; but those of a grown Christian are more judicious and solid; their love to Christ abounds more in all judgment. Phil. i. 8. The limbs of a child are more active and pliable; but as he grows to a more perfect state, the parts are more consolidated and firmly knit. The fingers of an old musician are not so nimble, but he hath a more judicious ear in music than in his youth.

3. When corn is dead ripe, it is apt to fall of its own account to the ground, and there shed; whereby it doth, as it were, anticipate the harvest-man, and calls upon him to put in the sickle. Not unlike to which are the looking and longings, the groanings and hastenings of Christians to their expected glory. They hasten to the coming of the Lord, or as Montanus fitly renders it, they hasten the coming of the Lord; that is, they are earnest in their desires and cries to hasten his coming; their desires sally forth to meet the Lord: they willingly take death by the hand; as the corn bends to the earth, so do these souls to heaven. This shows their harvest to be near. *(Flavel.)*

HINTS FOR PROMOTING BROTHERLY LOVE.

1. To remember that we are all subject to failings of some kind or other.
2. To bear with, and not to magnify, others' infirmities.
3. To pray one for another in our social meetings, and especially in private.
4. To avoid going from house to house, for the purpose of hearing news, and meddling with other people's business.
5. Always to turn a deaf ear to any slanderous report of a brother, and to pay no attention to any charge brought against such, except well founded.
6. If a brother be in fault, to tell him of it first privately, before it be mentioned to others, Matt. xviii. 15.
7. To watch against a shyness of each other, and to put the best construction on any action that has the appearance of opposition or resentment.
8. To observe that excellent rule of Solomon's, "Leave off contention before it be meddled with," Prov. xviii. 14.
9. If a brother has offended, to consider how glorious, how godlike, it is to forgive and how unlike a Christian it is to revenge.
10. To remember that it is always the grand artifice of the devil to promote distance and strife among Christians, and that therefore we should watch against everything that would further his end.
11. To consider how much more good we can do in the world at large, and in the Church in particular, when we are all united in love, than what we could when acting alone, and indulging in a contrary spirit.
12. Lastly, To consider the express command of Scripture, and the example of our Lord and Saviour, John xiii. 34, 35; Luke xvii. 3, 4; 1 Peter ii. 21.

Miscellaneous.

THE WALDENSES.

THE RECENT MEETING OF THE WALDENSIAN SYNOD AT LA TOUR.—The Synod opened on Monday, the 29th of May, at 9 o'clock, A. M. The large church of La Tour was filled with such an audience as might assemble on the Sabbath-day. In the front rows sat the pastors and deputies. The opening service was in Italian, as Dr. De Sanctis had been appointed to preach. According to the Waldensian form, which retains a "reader," Professor Malan read the chapters, &c., in Italian; and then, after prayer and praise, Dr. De Sanctis chose Acts xx. 28, as the text of his discourse.

The text presented, he said,—1. *A duty*—"Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock." 2. *A privilege*—"Over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers." 3. *An office*—"To feed the church of God." 4. *A doctrine*—"The church, which he hath purchased with his own blood." He dwelt on the necessity of looking well to themselves, and to their own faith. The faith of which he spake was not that which comes by books, by course of logic, or Christian instruction, but which is of God, and cometh from above. He bore his testimony to the truth which had been preserved in those valleys, and thanked God that *he*, who was not born in that church, nor educated in it, but who in God's providence belonged to it by choice, by conviction, and by duty, was enabled to bear testimony. He then spoke of the duty of taking heed to all the flock, and of the dangers with which in these days the flock was surrounded. Under the second head—their privilege as overseers appointed by the Holy Ghost—he spoke of parties who, under pretence of leading them back to primitive purity and simplicity, were seeking to set aside the pastoral office, and to lead the flock away from the "overseers" which the Holy Ghost had appointed over them. This system of mysticism, with its false pretence of primitive purity, was especially to be avoided, as it introduced disorder and confusion, and divided the flock which ought to be united in evil days. He did not enter at length on the third head—the office which was assigned to them, to feed the church of God. It was the office of "pastors," of shepherds under the chief Shepherd, to feed the flock of God, and the flock or church of God could only be fed with the Word of God. He noticed especially in reference to the pastoral office, that the same persons who were called "elders" in the 17th verse, were called "bishops" or "overseers," in the 28th. The Italian version has the right translation of the passage: "Take heed to yourselves and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you *bishops*." He concluded by merely alluding to the dogma, or doctrine, that the church which they were to feed was the church of God, which he has purchased with his own blood; that is, which Christ, who is "God over all blessed for ever," has redeemed from among men. Such is a mere outline of a very excellent discourse, preached in very beautiful Italian.

There were sixty-five members present, namely, the pastors of the 17 parishes, and of the Italian stations, the Professors of the College, and two lay deputies from each parish.

The Synod closed on Friday, at one o'clock, P. M. Though no Synod had sat for so long a time for two centuries, the country deputies remained till the last. On Sabbath the communion was dispensed in all the parishes. The morning service at La Tour was in the old church at the foot of the mountain, where about 400 or 500 people communicated. M. Appia preached an excellent discourse in the afternoon in the church at La Tour, to a large audience; and in the evening there was another crowded meeting at Santa Margherita for Italian service. M. Malan presided and opened the exposition, which was continued by M. Etienne Malan, Signor Niccolini, Mr. Hanna of Florence, and Mr. Curry of Manchester. There is truly a great work to do in this land: the harvest is plenteous, but the labourers are few. "Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that he would send labourers into his harvest." The concluding prayer of the evening meeting was offered by Francesco Madiari, so well known as the prisoner of Volterra. It was simple and earnest, and exceedingly affecting, especially when he thanked God who had brought him to those valleys that were stained with the blood of his martyrs, and to brethren who had prayed for him when he was in chains, for the Word of God and the testimony of Jesus. It is truly interesting to see the Italian element so largely represented in the Waldensian church. May that church, whose chosen emblem is the light shining in darkness, be the blessed instrument in leading many to *that light* which is the light of men!—*Ex. P.*

STATE OF ITALY.—The Papal government since 1850 has been engaged in no great work of public utility; the railways projected in 1848 remain mere projects still; not one of them has been constructed; nothing whatever has been done for the encouragement of commerce, agriculture, or industry, and the Papal army of some six or seven thousand men cannot be so great a burden as to account for a yearly deficit of two millions and a half of Roman *scudi*. I shall merely cite a few of the causes which have been assigned for expenditure so greatly exceeding the income of the State. 1. Wretched administration in every department. 2. The exemption of privileged classes from the public burdens. 3. Wretched custom-house laws, and duties ruinous to the commerce of the country, as well as to the government which has imposed them. 4. The Austrian troops in Romagna are still a burden to the government, and nuisance to the people.

It is pleasant to turn from Rome to Piedmont, now enjoying the blessings of civil and religious liberty. I mentioned before the triumph of Archbishop Charvaz and the clerical party in the matter of the Waldensian Church of Genoa. But it is not right to judge the Sardinian government hardly for yielding in one such case to the threat of a public clamour, especially when coming from a very powerful party. Had there been a Protestant ambassador in Turin, English, Prussian, or American, sufficiently interested in the Protestant cause to speak one firm word to the king and ministers, I believe the Waldensians in Genoa would never have been prevented from taking possession of the church which they had purchased. It was certainly a mistake on the part of the ministers; but there is good reason to believe that should another case of the same kind arise, they would act differently. And, at all events, I cannot think it a very great injury to the Waldensian congregation at Genoa that they had been deprived of the use of the "Gran Madre di Dio," as it is difficult to accommodate a Romish church to Protestant service.

To one who knew Turin five years ago, its present state is most extraordinary. Go to almost any book-stand, and you will find Italian Bibles, and Protestant tracts, printed openly in Turin, or secretly in Tuscany. Turn down from the great square in which the king's palace stands, and the "Evangelical Library" catches your eye. Italian evangelical books are not yet very plenty; but if you glance over the collection you find Merle D'Aubigne's History, and Adolphe Monod's "Lucille," and Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," and Watts' "Scripture History," and Newman Hall's "Life of Dr. Gordon," and some other books well known in England; besides treatises by Dr. De Sanctis, and other Italian writers, who have sought to lead others to the truth which they have found for themselves. Go down to Porta Nuova, and among the handsome buildings of one of the finest streets in the capital stands the Waldensian Church—no mean ornament even to that part of the city. Enter the church at three o'clock on Sabbath afternoon, and there is a perfect crowd of Italians, many of whom are evidently all unaccustomed to a Protestant service.—*News of the Churches.*

RE-UNION IN SCOTLAND.—We learn from the Scottish papers that this subject has been mooted in more forms than one during the last few weeks. Sir George Sinclair has published a pamphlet, which has for its object to encourage proposals for union among the non-endowed bodies, especially the United Presbyterian and the Free Church. On the other hand, symptoms have appeared of a desire to see the breach healed between the Established church and the Free. The Rev. Wm. Sorley, of the Free church at Selkirk, has written a letter to the Premier on the "Great Scottish Grievance," the injustice done by the Government to the Free Church. The Church of Scotland Magazine and Review for May contains an article in which the idea of re-union is favourably entertained. And in the recent meetings of the Established General Assembly, the Rev. Norman McLeod, of Glasgow, has expressed himself more than once, in very strong and remarkable terms, in favour of a union. It was generally believed that Lord Aberdeen, who was the chief instrument in producing the disruption, now repents bitterly of his share in the transaction, and would readily use his influence in healing the breach. It is, however, to be noticed that the parties who have spoken out on the subject hitherto are but isolated individuals, and that their sentiments cannot be regarded as any sure indication of the direction of the current of opinion generally, in the bodies to which they belong.—*The St. Louis Presbyterian.*

The Protestants of France support about *thirty* religious societies or institutions. Serious civil perils impend over them. The Papacy, now in the ascendant, will not much longer tolerate their evangelistic operations. May they obtain grace to be faithful.—*Irish Preach*

Obituaries.

On Sabbath, June 4th, 1854, Mrs. M. G. Patterson, wife of Rev. David J. Patterson, Pastor of the First Reformed Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, New York, in the 25th year of her age. She and her infant son entered into their rest together. In usual health on the previous day, death came "as a thief in the night," and prostrated at once the mother and a child, while he, at the same time, inflicted the severest form of bereavement on the husband and father who survives. It was, however, a Christian dwelling into which he was permitted to enter, on that Sabbath day. The hearts which are broken by his stroke, know where their consolation is. They are not hopeless mourners. For they have the best evidence that she, over whose sudden and early departure they grieve, has gone to be with Christ, in the place where there is no more death. Lovely in her person, serious in her deportment, intelligent, amiable, discreet, Mrs. Patterson was beloved of all who knew her. She graced the social circle in which she moved. Her influence was unusual for her years, and the secret of it was, that she adorned the doctrine of God her Saviour by a life and conversation becoming the gospel. Brought up in a Christian family where she learned the truth as it is in Jesus, both by precept and example, she confessed Christ in early life, and to the end continued to walk consistently with her profession, in the meekness of the gospel. From recent conversations with her husband, she seemed to have anticipated an early death, and was no doubt prepared for it when it came. She crossed the Jordan in the storm, but she arrived the sooner in the better country which lies beyond its troubled waters. The sorrowing parents, and the doubly bereaved husband, are commended by a brother in the ministry who pens these lines, to the abiding sympathies of the Great High Priest of our profession.

[For the Banner of the Covenant.]

At a meeting of session, of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, Chicago, Ill., held July 31st, 1854, the following action was had in reference to the death of William Kennedy.

It being announced by the Moderator that since last meeting of session our oldest member and clerk of session, William Kennedy, had been removed from our midst by death, the following preamble and resolutions were introduced, and after a number of feeling remarks in reference to the great loss sustained, were adopted.

Whereas,—Since our last meeting, in the wise, but to us inscrutable providence of God, William Kennedy, the oldest member of session, has been suddenly removed by death,—Therefore

Resolved,—That in William Kennedy we have lost a friend, endeared to us by all the ties and sweets of social life, a beloved and long tried Christian brother, an able, a faithful, and judicious member of this court, and its clerk since his first connexion with the congregation eight years ago.

Resolved,—That the congregation in him has suffered a loss not soon to be repaired; his children a father indeed; the Ref. Pres. Church a bright and consistent ornament, and our city one of its most useful and influential citizens.

Resolved,—That this testimonial of affection and sorrow to the memory of a departed brother, be embodied in the minutes of session, and a copy be sent to the remaining members of his family, as a token of our deep sympathy in their great bereavement.

A. M. STEWART, *Mod.*

THOMAS FLOYD, *Clerk pro tem.*

Foreign Missions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN MISSIONS OF THE REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, SCOTLAND.

[Concluded from p. 256.]

NEW ZEALAND MISSION.

The Synod's Mission on the Manawatu, under the Rev. James Duncan, continues to exhibit a very encouraging aspect. In a series of letters addressed to the late Professor Symington, Mr. Duncan has presented a comparative view of the population on that river ten years ago, with its present state. These letters have all been published in the pages of the *Scottish Presbyterian*, and would be read with much interest by the friends of the mission throughout the church. The abundant proof which they afford of the success of Mr. Duncan's valuable labours, supplies ground for devout thank-

fulness. The change which has taken place in the social or economical condition of the people, is the *index* of a far more important change in the state of their minds and in their moral character. Had it not been for a lamentable interference with his labours by parties whose position gave them an influence which, in this case, has been used to the great detriment of the cause of the gospel, it cannot be reasonably doubted that, before this time, Mr. Duncan would have been surrounded by a hopeful and increasing congregation. Happily, he is no longer interfered with as regards the free exercise of his ministry. The chief, Ihakara, who for a time was overawed by the higher authorities, has asserted his independence, and has openly attached himself to Mr. Duncan. His own letter, which was published in the August number of the *Scottish Presbyterian*, affords good evidence of his sound sense, and decided earnestness in religion. By what is added in Mr. Duncan's letter, it is evident that Ihakara is much more a man of deeds than of words. Impressed by the example, and apparently animated by the spirit of David, he refused to build a better dwelling for himself, until he saw completed a house for the worship of God. And, besides contributing a sum of ten pounds in money—a very liberal donation in his case—he gave his own personal labour, for about one entire year, to the work. Where shall we find at home a similar example of self-denying zeal and generosity?

The latest letter received from Mr. Duncan, is dated August, 1853. It discloses certain sources of discouragement and difficulty which have recently arisen, in relation to his sphere of labour. The people being now very generally engaged in agriculture or other secular business, do not come to school so numerously as they were wont to do in past times. There is, he says, among missionaries, a very general complaint, that there is a decline of the life and interest formerly evinced by the New Zealanders, in the weighty concerns of education and religion. In consequence of their advancement in general knowledge, the farm, the money, and the merchandise, have more powerful attractions for them. New sources of worldly enjoyment have opened up to them, and the world engrosses their time and their thoughts more largely. "I much fear," says Mr. Duncan, "that the same kind of feeling is beginning to show itself here. I have often had to deplore the want of spirituality and a sad amount of mere formalism among New Zealanders, although among so many destitute of grace in the heart, a subsequent falling away, even from the outward profession of Christianity, might have reasonably been expected. The influence of the example of Europeans residing among them, who neglect religious duties, and lead immoral lives, is very pernicious. This bad influence has been more felt of late than at any former period."

In some parts of the country, a race of half-castes has been growing up, who, it may be feared, will prove a very difficult class to be dealt with. The knowledge they acquire from the European parent appears to add intensity to the vice which they inherit from their heathen ancestors.

The concluding portion of Mr. Duncan's letter deserves a place here.

"The means of grace are now pretty extensively enjoyed in this country, but alas! the blessing of the Almighty necessary to render them effectual, seems almost entirely withheld. O! that the Spirit's influence were abundantly poured out, that the Lord's servants may be more fit for their work, and that their labours may prove instrumental in the salvation of many souls to the honour of the blessed Redeemer! For this may we more earnestly and constantly pray.

"I may now add a few items regarding secular affairs. Almost everything here has, in consequence of the discovery of gold in Australia, greatly advanced in price, which might have involved me in pecuniary difficulties, or rendered a larger sum necessary for my support. But, with economy, nothing extra is required. In some respects the outlay is less now, after being settled several years, than at the beginning of the mission; and a few of the natives and Europeans also now show a little kindness in being easier in their charges for labour and other things than they might be according to the current rates. No demands on the missionary funds will, I trust, be required to be made in future, to defray any expenses of travelling, supplying medicine, &c. Forage for horse now costs me little or nothing. The natives now ferry me across rivers without charge, and one countryman, who keeps a house of accommodation on the coast at a ferry station, where my expenses for ferry, stabling, board, and lodging, were at one time considerable, has now made it a rule not to charge me for any of these things when travelling for the benefit of others. The natives now pay for the medicine they use, and, to some extent, for their books.

"On entering upon this mission, I hoped that after a few years, it would become partly or entirely self-supporting, by means of the contributions of the natives; but I was not then fully aware of the natural avariciousness and ingratitude of the New Zealanders. When I first came amongst them, they required more from the missionaries for any article of sale, than from other Europeans; and nothing was farther from their thoughts than the idea of ever contributing anything for the support and spread of the gospel. Now, however, they are beginning to do a little for the cause of Christ. Had not so much damage been done to the crops here last year, I would, by this time, have solicited a con-

tribution, although small, to our missionary funds. Perhaps I may have a favourable opportunity of doing so ere very long. There is a prospect of this mission becoming, in the course of two or three years, in a great measure self-supporting, in a way not at all likely to interfere with its efficiency, or to engage the attention of the missionary with secularities more than has been necessary, and still is, with those labouring to raise the natives in civilization. I formerly mentioned that a few acres of land adjoining the site of the mission-house, had been given by the natives as missionary property. A piece of about two acres has been since enclosed, and is being now ploughed. When Governor Grey, and Mr. M'Lean, Land Commissioner, were this way some months ago, both the Governor and Mr. M'Lean recommended to me that from 50 to 100 acres of land should be set apart for the benefit of our mission, and an offer was made, if I approved of it, to purchase that quantity of land, and give a Crown grant for the same to our Missionary Committee. I suggested that the matter be left for settlement to a future occasion. Two weeks ago, I received a letter from Mr. M'Lean, stating that the Governor and he were about to start from Wellington for the East coast, and would come across the country and down the Manawatu river, when the business referred to could be arranged. Approving of the proposal, and thinking that as the natives had not been made aware of the Governor's intention, it would be right to mention it to them before his arrival, so that they might consider whether they would be willing to part with the piece of land considered to be the most serviceable to us, last week I spoke to Ihakara on the subject. He at once said: "I quite agree to the proposal, and am perfectly willing to part with the piece of land you point out: but I will not take money for it, as it is to be for the use of the church. To give it *gratuitously and entirely, as if it were purchased*, is the least thing we can do." Now, were that land enclosed, and stocked with sheep, it would with little trouble and attention on my part, go far to render the mission station self-supporting. I should like were this the case. On this subject, I expect to be able to write more particularly ere long."

[The close of the foregoing letter contains very cheering intelligence. It shows, in the first place, the high sense entertained by the government of New Zealand of the valuable services rendered by the mission to the cause of civilization: and, in the second place, the readiness of Ihakara, and we presume, of others likewise, to devote a portion of their property to the cause of Christ. The transaction was not, however, completed at the date of this letter, and may not be concluded yet. Circumstances may indeed occur, for aught we know, to prevent it altogether. But in the event of the grant being made, and gratuitously on the part of the natives, what effect should it have on the friends of the mission at home? Should they slacken their efforts, as if they had done all that the Church contemplated? Certainly not. All persons who take a proper view of their duty, and of the leadings of providence, will only feel all the more encouraged by the blessing of God on the mission, to continue their exertions and prayers—to enlarge, if possible, their contributions, and to adopt measures for multiplying missionary agents, until the abundance of the seas be converted to the Lord, and all the earth behold his glory. The Synod in May last instructed the Committee to consider the propriety of sending out another missionary to co-operate with Mr. Inglis in Aneiteum. There is ample room, and a loud call for numerous labourers, and for continued and increased liberality on the part of the church. Let us thank God, take courage, and be stirred up to greater diligence in the work of the Lord. He hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad.—Ed. S. P.]

The statement by the Treasurer, which appears among the published accounts of the Synod, will show that the past year has drawn heavily on the fund for foreign Missions. But we ought not to weary in well-doing. Never before, in the history of this church, was such a field of usefulness thrown open, as that which is now presented to her. Her resources, indeed, are comparatively small, and her labourers are few. It is greatly to be wished that their number could be doubled. What she can do, it is hoped she will do heartily and cheerfully. Each of her Foreign Missions is full of hope and encouragement. But they need to be supported by the liberal contributions and by the earnest prayers of the friends of the Gospel.

(From the Evangelical Repository.)

INDIA.

I. The first thing to be noted is the importance of India.

1. As it has been viewed, in all ages, by other nations; exciting the cupidity, successively, of the Assyrians, under Semiramis; of the Greeks, under Alexander; of the Afghans, under Mahmúd and others; of the Persians, under Nádir Sháh; of the Tartars and Moguls, under Genghis Khán and Tamerlane; of the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the English.

2. Viewed as a country of large extent,—being over 1800 miles from north to south, (i. e., from 8 to 35 degrees of north latitude,) and about 1500 miles from east to west: with a hot, yet salubrious climate; diversified with mountains, hills, and extensive plains—some of the latter being confessedly as fertile as any in the world, (notwithstanding the desert character of certain localities,) yielding, under cultivation, most of the fruits, grains, and vegetables of both temperate and tropical climates; and having a population of about one hundred and fifty million souls.

3. As occupying the most central and commanding position among the Asiatic nations. It has held a larger place in the eye of commerce than any other country; it now holds commercial relations with nearly all nations, east and west; and it has given religion to Burmah, Siam, China, and many islands in the eastern archipelago.

4. The country is divided among different nations; as the Támulians, the Telúgús, the Kánkánís, the Máhrattas, the Guzrátís, the Bengálís, the Hindustánís, the Gurkhás, the Panjábís, the Kashmírís, the Síndians, &c., besides the remnants of certain aboriginal tribes found in the mountains, as the Khurds, the Kols, the Bhíls, the Asámís, &c.; and in the same sections of the country there are different castes, which have continued separate from each other from generation to generation. Most of these, however, belong to the European type of humanity; and have therefore a good basis for the physical and mental improvement which may be expected to supervene upon the adoption by them of a pure religion, the abolition of caste, and the consequent amalgamation of the different races, tribes, and castes. Such a mixture of blood, in almost numberless channels, crossing and recrossing each other, can scarcely fail, when it takes place, (and it awaits only the revolutionizing influence of a Christian civilization,) can scarcely fail to produce, in the people of India, a national character, analogous to that which similar causes have produced in the people of England, and are now producing, on a larger scale, in the people of the United States. In every sense, therefore, India will prove itself to be, in the Oriental world, what China now claims to be, viz., the central kingdom.

These things give an importance to the work of missions in India, which can scarcely be predicated of it in most other heathen countries; though in all of them the gospel ought, of course, to be preached as quickly as possible.

II. The work of the church in relation to India, is a vast work.

1. On account of the great numbers of people who need to be instructed—six times as many as inhabit the thirty-one States of the American Union.

2. On account of the diversity, the greatness, and the universality of the errors and vices prevalent there. The systems of error divide themselves, in a general way, into Brahminism, Mohammedanism, Sikhism, Vedantism, Kabirism, Buddhism, Romanism, Gabarism, various forms of asceticism, and aboriginal idolatry and devil worship; the last being modified, in some cases, though probably not in all, by its contact with Hindúism. Connected with these, and underlying most of them, is the doctrine of pantheism. Here are radical errors in relation to the object of worship—the origin, condition, and destiny

of man—the rule of faith and practice—the nature of sin—the elements of salvation, and the means necessary for its attainment. And the vices of society, which naturally spring from these errors, are so generally prevalent, and of so sturdy a growth, that nothing can remove them but the general prevalence, and the steady and long-continued influence of Christian truth.

III. Though the work to be done is great, it is nevertheless full of promise. It would be so, even if there were no special encouragements to be derived from prophecy. For—

1. It is no novelty for people in India to change their religion. (1.) Hindúism itself is not indigenous. It came from abroad, and supplanted most of the aboriginal forms of faith; and conversions of the same kind are going on at the present day. (2.) The religion of Buddh was at one time re-enforced by so many converts, as to be able to contend with Brahminism for the dominion of India. (3.) A large number of Hindús have been converted to Mohammedanism, and such conversions are now witnessed every year. (4.) Many, of almost all religions, have been converted to Christianity—both Pápal and Protestant.

2. Providence evidently favours the efforts of the church to evangelize that country.

(1.) By creating, in the minds of many, dissatisfaction with the ancient systems of religion, and leading them to desire something better. This appears in the work of reformers, who have arisen from time to time, and drawn many disciples after them. This work has been going on for ages, and is in progress at this moment. The reformations of most note in by-gone days are those of Kabír and Nának. Within the period of our own times several new sects have sprung into existence, such as the Vedantists and the Karta-bhojas in Bengál; and within the last year or two we have heard of a reformer at Ráwal-pindí, in the Panjáb; of another near Lodiana; and of a third near Mingapur, in North India: one of them making Jesus the centre of his system, and another looking upon himself as divinely appointed to introduce Christianity into his country in the room of Hinduism; though both the one and the other have inadequate and erroneous views of the character of Christianity and the person of its Author. The last-mentioned fact is remarkable, on account of the analogy it bears to the great work of reformation now in progress in China, under the auspices of the insurgent emperor.

(2.) The Lord has awakened an uncommon degree of attention to the spiritual interests of India among most of the evangelical denominations of Christendom, so that the number of societies now engaged in efforts to evangelize that country is more than twenty; being connected with at least half a dozen branches of the Presbyterian Church—the Episcopal, the Lutheran, the Congregational, the Wesleyan, the Baptist, and other churches.

(3.) Though the proportion of missionaries from foreign countries is still less than one to 400,000 of the population, and till lately was only one to a million, yet the blessing of God has so far attended their labours, that their influence has been felt in almost every part of the land; more than 300 churches, with 18,000 living communicants on their roll, have been organized; and from among their converts nearly

fifty ordained ministers, besides five or six hundred catechists, are now labouring for the spiritual good of their countrymen. This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes!

(4.) The favour of God is seen also in the disposition of the ruling powers of India towards the missionary work. Two-thirds of the country is now subject to an enlightened and liberal Christian government—a government which is ready to afford every facility to missionaries of all denominations, and which will secure to native converts liberty of conscience, and the enjoyment of all their civil rights. The remaining third is under the dominion of Hindú and Mohammedan princes, who, with scarcely an exception, are dependent on the British, and who defer, in almost every thing, to the expressed wishes of the paramount power. Some of them have directly patronised Christian education; others have shown themselves to be personal friends of missionaries; and one of the most distinguished of their number—now an ex-king, in the receipt of a princely income—has lately become a member of the church of Christ.

(5.) Mighty changes are now in progress there, in the world of letters, and in the social system—all tending to make a triumph of the gospel comparatively easy. Schools are springing up in various parts of the country, where the instruction given is utterly incompatible with the errors of Hindúism. These schools are popular with almost all classes of the people, and are sometimes sustained most zealously by those who are most opposed to the cause of Christ; as is witnessed in the case of the new metropolitan Hindú college of Calcutta—a college designed to rival the institutions of the government and of the missionaries—which, in December last, is said to have had on its roll as many as 1100 students. In such cases the Lord will cause the wrath of man to praise him.

(6.) In other ways, also, God is using the opposition of the enemy to promote his cause. Again and again, when native society has been shaken and temporarily convulsed by the conversion of distinguished individuals, there has been a spirit of inquiry excited, which has been favourable to the cause of truth; and the very celebrity thus given to the conversions in question, has served to render the country familiar with the idea of a change from Hindúism, and the other isms in vogue there, to the new religion now coming in—thus diminishing the difficulties of conversion in all future cases.

(7.) Another fact in providence which favours the work of missions, is the elevation to the highest places in the political and social spheres of a Christian people. In the eyes of the heathen a degree of honour is thus conferred on Christianity. The reproach connected with it, as a new and strange religion, is, in a measure, wiped away; and it is obvious, that in proportion as prejudices against it diminish, the facilities for conversion must be increased.

(8.) There is a general expectation among the people of the universal spread of Christianity. This fact alone, if there were no others of a favourable character, should be regarded by the church as constituting a loud call from Him whose almighty Spirit controls the desires, and shapes the expectations of men, to labour with promptness, alacrity, and hope, for the conversion of India.

IV. The work of evangelizing India belongs to the Christians of

the United States, as much as to those of any other country. England, it is true, sustains a political relation to that country, which does not belong to the United States; but the Bible never uses the boundaries of earthly States to mark the spheres in which the church is to exert its energies. The kingdom of Christ knows nothing of the kingdoms of this world, except as kingdoms that are to be won for the Prince of Peace. If any thing, however, is to be made of the advantages which the servants of Christ may derive from the accidents of an earthly nationality for the prosecution of their work, then there is no class of Christians who have more advantages for preaching the gospel in India than Americans. America, under the name of the New World, is favourably known to the natives; and American missionaries are treated with consideration by the British authorities in that country, for the simple reason that they *are* Americans.

JOHN NEWTON.

P. S.—What I have said about the salubrity of the climate, may excite surprise in the minds of some, because the opinion has found currency in this country that the climate of India is deleterious, like that of Western Africa. It is not meant, however, that there are no diseases to which the inhabitants of that country are not more liable than the inhabitants of some more highly favoured countries, nor that all parts of India are equally healthy. I say, in a general way, that the climate of India is salubrious, just as the climate of the United States is so.

Strangers, going to reside in India, have no acclimating process to go through; and if they only carry with them good constitutions, and then adapt their manner of living to the necessities of the country—a country in which the rays of the sun are powerful, and the heat often intense, they may have almost as good a prospect of health there as in other countries. True, there is Asiatic cholera in India; but it is no worse there than it is now in the United States. In the north-western provinces it has prevailed only once, as an epidemic, within the last twenty years or more; and, at other times, it has scarcely been heard of. Small-pox is common among the natives; but this has nothing to do with the climate, and vaccination is an effectual preventive. There is no yellow fever and no plague. In some places intermittent fevers prevail after the rainy season, and among the natives they are often very fatal; but Europeans and Americans suffer no more in this way than multitudes do every year in many sections of the United States. Diseases of the liver are apt to develop themselves in foreigners, who take with them to that country a predisposition to such diseases; but among the natives such complaints are not more common than they are in America. Diseases of the lungs are less common there than here. The climate of India, by reason of its excessive heat, is debilitating; but, on account of the regularity of the seasons, it is less apt to generate acute, painful, and fatal diseases, than the fitful, changeful, unreliable climate of this country.

The average period of the public life of missionaries, who have lived and died in India, has been found to be *seventeen* years. What the average of ministerial life in this country is, I do not know; but I doubt whether it would be much more than this.

But even if it were *true* that the missionary work in India involved a sacrifice of life, who that has the spirit of Christ, or of Paul, would shrink from it on that account? If the heathen of tropical countries could not be evangelized without the most painful sacrifices, then such sacrifices should be made; and they might as well be made by us as by our successors in the church. J. N.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM REV. J. R. CAMPBELL.

Mission House, Saharanpur, May 20th, 1854.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—It gives me great delight to notice in the papers the warm reception given to Dr. Duff, and the *powerful* impression he is making on the minds of thousands by his earnest and eloquent addresses. I trust these impressions will go farther than the mind and reach the *hearts* of multitudes, so that the result may be a great and powerful influence for good to religion at home, and its increased extension abroad. Many will be either better or worse after his visit to the United States. Those who, after all, may succeed in shutting up their hearts in selfishness and unconcern about the heathen after listening to his clear demonstration of duty, and overwhelming appeals for its discharge, must in future become as hard as the nether millstone. “For the earth which drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them by whom it is dressed, receiveth blessing from God; but that which beareth briers and thorns is rejected, and nigh unto cursing; whose end is to be burned.” Still, we hope better things of many. We trust the Lord has sent him over to arouse the churches to their duty, and to do it at once, and that with the divine blessing on his labours, he will touch a chord in the heart of Christians that will vibrate from one end of the land to the other. This is God’s electric telegraph; conveyed by the human mind, touched by a spark of that heavenly flame which burns eternally on the throne above, all the sympathies of the Christian’s bosom are put in motion, and act on those who are partakers of like precious faith and love, in whatever part of creation they are found. We feel its stirring and animating influences even here. We feel the truth of all that the gifted orator has uttered before the enraptured crowds that have hung for hours on his lips; and we would unite our feeble testimony with his as to the state of the heathen, and the openings that Providence has made in Hindoostan for the spread of the truths of the gospel. While his clear statements about the condition of the Hindoos are now fresh before the churches in the United States (and I hope you will give them as extensive a circulation as possible through the pages of the *Banner*) it is unnecessary for us to write a single sentence on the subject. We would rather direct the attention of our friends to what Dr. Duff so powerfully sets forth, and urge them to *do with all their might*, and with *all the means that God has bestowed upon them*, what is now so imperatively demanded by *him* whom they are bound to serve, and to honour with their substance. If *his* arguments will not convince Christians of their duty and their obligations; and if *his* exposure of the selfish professor’s excuses for withholding the gospel from the heathen, will not put such to shame and draw out their benevolence, it would be in vain for us to attempt to add any thing to the weight and force of such arguments. I trust his visit to America will be of immense importance; that many will feel it to be not only their *duty*,—that is a cold word—but their privilege, their honour, to contribute more liberally for the spread of the gospel; that many will feel themselves under a pressing obligation—a *necessity*, to offer themselves as missionaries,—and that all may see, too, the propriety of offering the best talents the Christian church can furnish, to the missionary work. Great as are the talents of Dr. Duff, they are all required for India, to say nothing of the influence of such a great mind in both hemispheres. We greatly fear, that, in his weak state of health, he may sink under such powerful mental efforts, and that the willing spirit may be consumed on the altar of a burning zeal, so rarely witnessed in the best of causes. Our good friend and brother who is his host and patron, knows how to manage for his comfort in this respect, and also how to manage public meetings so as to render them efficient for the great object in view. Altogether, through God’s blessing on such an agency, I anticipate the most happy results to the missionary cause, and from the spread of sound, enlightened principles, lying at the very foundation of all true benevolence, which must be advantageously felt in every department of the church’s operations.

We are very desirous of seeing some additional missionaries. If they could come out in company with the Rev. Mr. Newton, a very experienced missionary, it would be a most favourable opportunity, as they could study a good deal of the Hindoostanee on board ship, and would find his assistance very valuable on their arrival in Calcutta. Should it not be possible for them to sail with Mr. Newton in August, and should it appear proper for them to spend a year in visiting the churches, which would also be highly desirable, let them sail in the end of June, or early in July next year. This would allow of their arrival by the first of March in Calcutta—the best season in the year to commence a journey up the country. Mr. Woodside, as you will learn from himself, I doubt not, is going on very well at Dehra. He has just commenced laying the foundation of his new church and school-house, having obtained a most eligible site from government. We have nearly finished a large hall for our vernacular schools adjoining the city church, which will cost some 700 Rupees, and be paid for by our Christian friends here. This extension was necessary on account of the increase of the schools. We will now have in addition to this hall 36 by 22—five smaller rooms for recitations of the different classes, and the church, where the roll is called and prayers offered at the opening of the school; so that the whole establishment is very complete. I hope to send you a view of the building by and by. The congregations at the place of daily preaching, continue large and attentive, and sometimes even solemn, but alas! this soon evaporates like the morning dew, and we see but few seriously inquiring after salvation. Still, we cannot but hope that much good is being done, and that all the seed is not lost. There is a manifest change going on in public sentiment and feeling in favour of Christianity. The Lord is preparing his way, and may suddenly appear by his gracious power to turn the hearts of the people to himself. We would continue to sow the seed in hope,—at his bidding to let down the net and to feel that “our labours are not in vain in the Lord.” I am thankful to say we are all well. There is not a sick person among us on the missionary premises. John McLeod had a fine son born to him a few days ago, so that we may hope the “seed of the church” will be blessed, and raised up here to become useful in their day. With very warm Christian regards to all our dear Christian friends, as ever, dear brother, yours in gospel bonds,

J. R. CAMPBELL.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM J. S. WOODSIDE.

Mission House, Dehra, May 3d, 1854.

MY DEAR BROTHER:—I enclose a short appeal to the people and children of our Church, on behalf of the Dehra School. Will you kindly give it a prominent place in the “Banner,” and accompany it with a few words of your own. I have for some time been silent, but I assure you I have not been idle. I have been labouring in season and out of season, to consolidate my position in this new field. I have had some intricate passes to cross over, but God has hitherto been with me, in a most remarkable manner, and has overruled every difficulty to the furtherance of his own cause in this place. He has given me favour in the eyes of the people and the rulers of the land. The Lieut. Governor of these Provinces, lately visited this place. I called on him, and had a very pleasing interview in regard to my plans, &c. here. He very generously contributed 200 rs. to the Mission, and ordered the Superintendent of the District to give me a *site* for the proposed Church and School building. In consequence of this I am now *at work*, and hope to finish part of the building before the rains set in. I have borrowed the money to go on with, in the firm trust that the Reformed Presbyterian Church will not allow their Missionary to be dishonoured in the payment of it; I hope to have the full sum I ask for, *within six months* from the present date. In the mean time, I have been very successful in raising funds here, so that I hope soon to be able to pay in full for the Mission premises we now occupy. Hitherto the people of our Church have not been called on for much of the expenses of buildings. The General Assembly’s Board have come forward on all such occasions, and in the most generous manner, contributed to fit out the various stations. It is proper that on the present occasion, our own Church should do her part in commencing Dehra.

I have been much delighted to-day, by reading the account of Dr. Duff’s rapturous reception in your city. I doubt not he has done much for the cause of Missions before this time, among you, and I trust the people at large will not soon forget his heart-touching appeals; God has sent him among you for good, and I hope we will see it manifest in a larger spirit of liberality and Christian earnestness in the

cause of the World's conversion. I am delighted, also, to learn from Mr. Patterson's letter, that our young brother, Mr. Shaw, is to come out in the fall. We shall of course receive him with open arms, and a hearty welcome. I send him a few lines by this mail. May God prepare him for India, for he will have much "to do and suffer" in the field of his choice. You will be pleased to learn that my health is very good at present. The climate is now hot, but this station is much cooler than Saharanpur. The Mission House, being two storied, makes our residence cooler than most other houses here. I now preach in a large room in the lower story, to a respectable English congregation every Sabbath afternoon. I also conduct a prayer meeting in English on Thursday evenings. This, in addition to the Schools and Hindustani preaching, keeps me very busy. I enclose a letter received the other day from a gentleman who occupies a very high station here* one of the most scientific men in the service of the Government. It will show you his estimate of the Missionary work in general, and of our poor efforts in particular. The *boys* he refers to, are two little native lads, whom he had sent to our school on the 1st of January. He was rather surprised to find the progress they had made in less than four months. It does us good to receive the countenance of such men. I am sorry to say many nominal Christians in India do not manifest such a spirit. I trust the day is coming when many more will think and act as he does. I remain ever yours affectionately,

JOHN S. WOODSIDE.

Editorial.

APPEAL FOR THE DEHRA MISSION.

Those of our readers who have given attention to the accounts which have been published in regard to the operations of our beloved brother, Mr. Woodside, missionary at Dehra, must have been surprised at the energy with which he has been labouring, and the success which has attended his exertion. The new and important field which he has been led to occupy, seems "ripe for the harvest," and it is indeed to be lamented that the solemn call of the church for some to go out to assist in reaping it, seems to be unanswered. In the meantime, however, much preliminary work may be done in the erection of mission

* Letter from A. S. Waugh, Esq., E. I. C. C. S.

Mupoorie, 20th April, 1854.

MY DEAR MR. WOODSIDE,—I have received your kind letter of yesterday's date, and am very glad to learn that your laudable and useful endeavours have had so much success. I sincerely trust that with the blessing of God on your good work, the result will prove in every way satisfactory to yourself by promoting the good cause of moral, intellectual, and religious enlightenment.

I had fully intended not to have passed through Dehra without paying my respects to you, and thanking you for your kind care of my boys, who, I was glad to find, on examination, had made good progress in so short a time. I was, however, so engrossed with business during my short stay, and so anxious to get Mrs. Waugh settled up-hill after her long, fatiguing, and hot march, that I was unable to do myself the pleasure of waiting upon you. I shall, however, be at my office at Dehra very soon, and hope then to see you.

From all that I could learn from inquiries among the natives, the excellence of your institution is now much appreciated, and your objects approved. I have no doubt that the efforts now making by such good men as yourself and your able co-adjutors, cannot fail to produce a wonderful change ere long among the people of the land. I shall be very glad indeed if any respect I can evince towards your undertaking can in any way contribute to so good a cause.

I forget what was the amount of my subscription, but have the pleasure to forward one hundred rupees, of which I beg your acceptance, and remain, my dear Mr. Woodside,

Yours sincerely,

A. S. WAUGH.

The above is from the Surveyor-General of India. His head-quarters are at Dehra, but he himself is seldom here except for a short time. His former subscription was 50 rps.

J. S. WOODSIDE.

buildings, churches, and school-houses. Friends of the mission in India have assisted with great liberality in all these; but it is proper that the church at home should have some part in the work, and the appeal which we publish herewith, is designed to bring this subject to the notice of the church. It is to be hoped it will succeed in securing for it her liberal assistance.

APPEAL ON BEHALF OF THE DEHRA MISSION CHURCH AND SCHOOL HOUSE.

“How many *bricks* will each of you contribute towards it?”

I once heard the above question put to a public meeting in Philadelphia, on behalf of the “Robert Raikes’ School,” and I well recollect the immediate effects of the question. I myself put the question to an infant Sabbath School in the northern part of the city, and I think that Sabbath School contributed \$40 worth!! Now I again put the question, not to a single Sabbath School, but to every Sabbath School in our Church, not to a single Congregation, but to *every Congregation* in the Church. Will the Pastors of all our Churches have the goodness to put this question to their people, and will the Superintendents of Sabbath Schools do me the favour to put it to the children? If they do I know what the result will be. I cannot appear before you in person to plead the cause of the heathen children around me, but if I could I think I would have little difficulty in collecting all the funds I now require. At present, part of the school assembles at my dwelling house, and part in the open verandah of a native house in the town. The latter portion of the school is a most interesting one. They are all Hindoo youths studying in their native language; I wish to be with them daily, but I find it impossible. Now that the hot weather is setting in, I cannot, with safety to my health, sit with them in the suffocating atmosphere of their present school-room. There is no house in the town to be had at all adapted to my purpose. I have, therefore, from the very outset, contemplated the erection of a building which will answer the double purpose of a Church and School-house. It must be of such dimensions as to accommodate from three hundred to four hundred children. I have lately secured a most eligible site in the very centre of the native population. Yesterday, (May 1st.) I commenced to dig the foundation. A kind friend to the Mission, has offered to lend me funds necessary to complete a part of the work within the ensuing six weeks, and I trust by the time you are reading this appeal in the Banner it will be almost tenantable. The entire building will cost not less than \$500. I trust this sum will be contributed by friends in America. I have within the past year collected more than that sum from friends in India, and am now living in a house purchased by that money for the Mission. How many *bricks* then will each of you give? If *all* contribute, the number from each will be but few. Let each one answer the question for himself, and I fear not the result. The object for which I ask your “*bricks*” is one that must commend itself to every one. It is to erect a building in which the glorious Gospel will be *daily* proclaimed to the perishing Heathen, and in which I trust many, very many, shall be brought into the Kingdom of Heaven through the “foolishness of preaching.” It is to erect a house in which the rising generation of this city shall be instructed not only in all the branches of a liberal secular education,

but in which they will be taught to revere God's holy word, and to love the Lord Jesus Christ, who died to save them from eternal death. Remember, my dear friends, it is not I who ask you for these contributions. It is the providence of God, that appeals through your own missionary. It is the Saviour himself who has sent me among this people, who requires this *loan* from you. Depend upon it, what you invest here you will find but lent. It is a small investment, the interest of which you will find awaiting you in glory. Let every one give something, and if there is more than I want, let it be laid up for erecting a house for a *second* missionary here.

I want every member of the Church to feel that he or she has an interest in Dehra and its people. You are every one partakers in this work, I am but your agent, and it is your duty and your interest to see that my hands are upheld. Thanks to our covenant God, the schools here are already prosperous beyond my highest expectations. Give me the means to erect this building, and with your contributions give me your prayers for the conversion of immortal souls within its walls.

Your faithful servant, J. S. WOODSIDE.

ACTION OF THE LATE GENERAL SYNOD ON THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

We regret much to observe that some have expressed the opinion, that there was a disposition on the part of the General Synod of our church at its recent meeting, to evade a condemnation of the atrocious system of slaveholding against which the Reformed Presbyterian Church has so long and so strenuously protested. In reference to this subject, there is, we believe, but one feeling throughout our church, and recent events, so far from rendering us indisposed to announce and advocate the principles on which we have so far acted, have really rendered every Reformed Presbyterian more ardently anti-slavery than before. The fact was, that the resolutions proposed on this subject were introduced at the close of the session, when there was no time to give to it the attentive examination required by a paper which was designed to be spread before the public. It was considered better to say nothing than to say what might not answer the object in view. In order to bring the whole subject fully before the church and the community in general, a committee was appointed to prepare a document on the subject which may be expected to exhibit in as forcible a manner as possible, the unfaltering opposition of the Reformed Presbyterian Church to this most unholy system.

ARRIVAL OF REV. H. M'MILLAN IN SCOTLAND.

It will be gratifying to our readers to learn that Rev. H. M'Millan arrived safely in Liverpool and was about to proceed immediately to Scotland, to be present at the opening exercises of the theological seminary of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in that country. The opportunity which Mr. M'Millan will enjoy of visiting numerous institutions of learning and religion in Britain and Ireland, will be calculated greatly to benefit the seminary of our own Church, in which we hope he will long discharge the duties of the Chair to which he has been appointed.

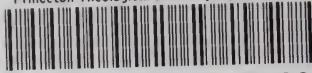


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